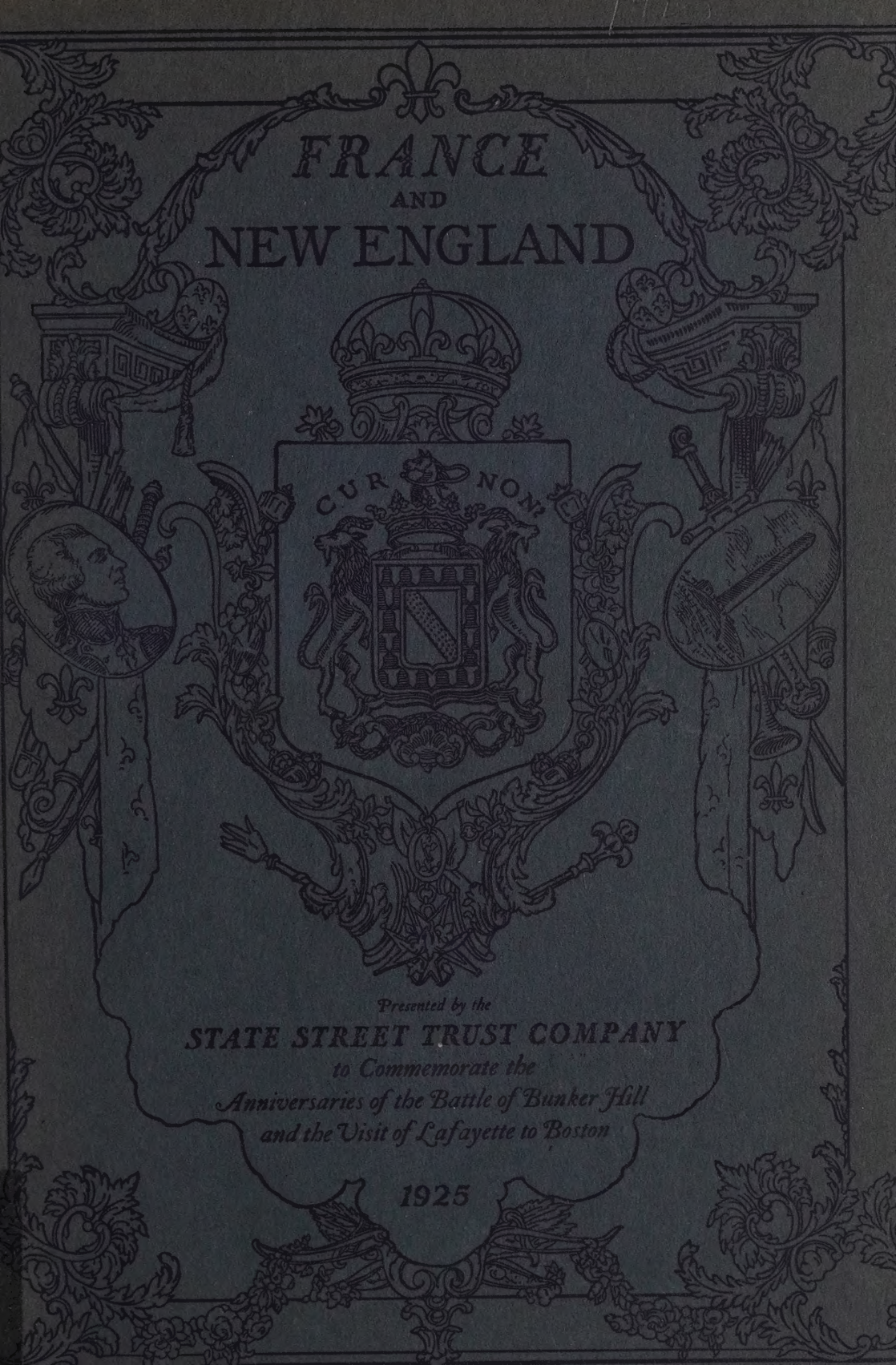
FRANCE
AND
NEW ENGLAND



Presented by the

STATE STREET TRUST COMPANY

to Commemorate the
Anniversaries of the Battle of Bunker Hill
and the Visit of Lafayette to Boston

1925

LEARNING RESOURCES CTR/NEW ENGLAND TECH.
GEN E265.F65
Forbes, Alla France and New England /
3 0147 0000 3099 2

E 265 .F65 Vol.1
Forbes, Allan, 1874-
France and New England

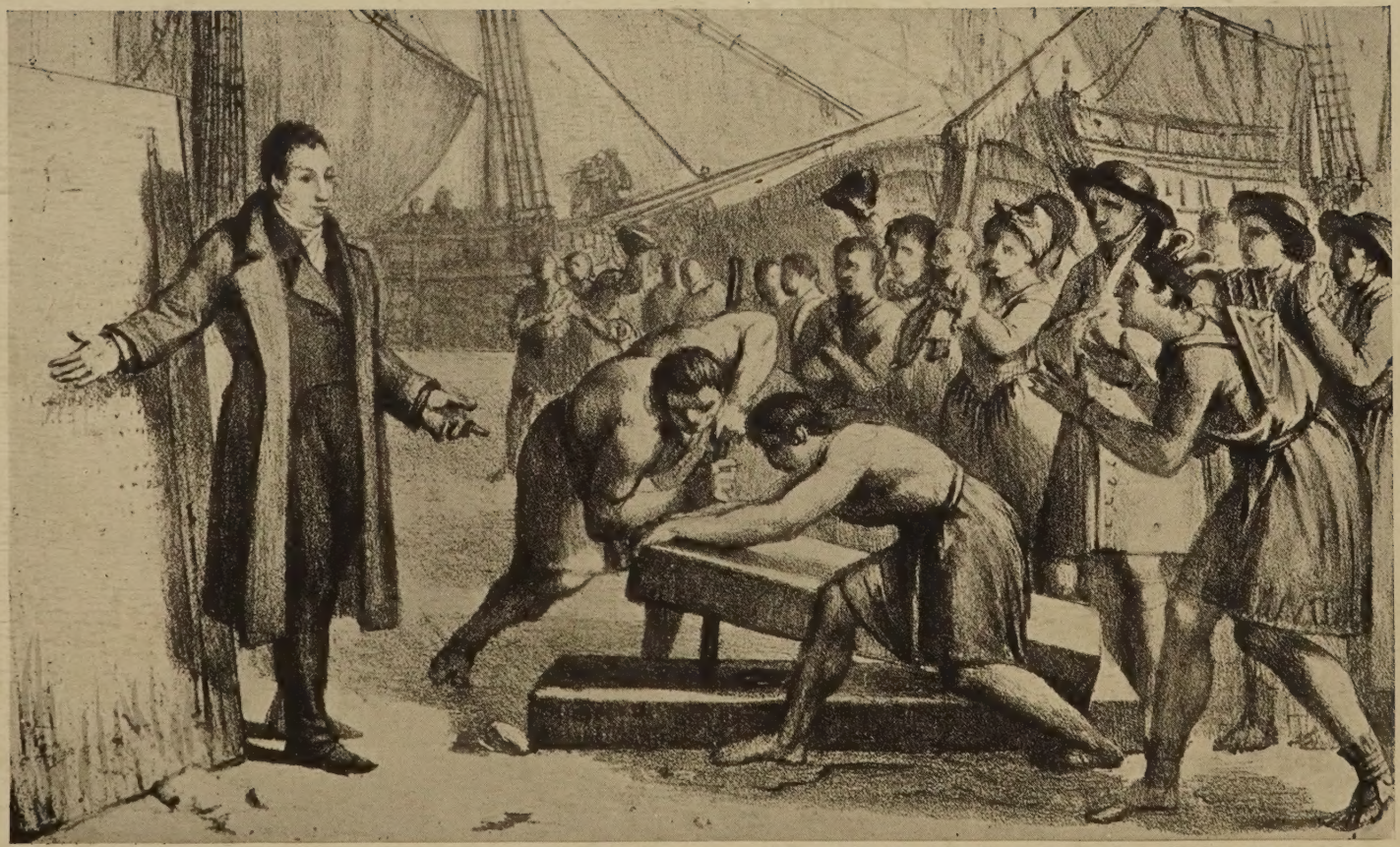
DATE DUE

DEMCO 38-297

NEW ENGLAND INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY
LEARNING RESOURCES CENTER

FRANCE AND NEW ENGLAND

Volume I



Photograph taken for the State Street Trust Co. from a rare print reproduced in the 1906 proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Original is lithographed by Langlumé after a drawing by Mlle. d'Hervilly, in Paris.

Kindness of Dr. John Collins Warren, President Bunker Hill Monument Association, and Julius H. Tuttle of the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE, AT THE LEFT OF PICTURE, OFFICIATING AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

on the 17th of June, 1825, on his last visit to America. He traveled thousands of miles through most of the states of the Union, and kept strictly to his schedule so as not to be late for this important occasion. During one of his speeches in Boston he referred to Bunker Hill as his "polar star." This original print, which came from C. E. Goodspeed, is now among the Monument Association papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has only once before been reproduced. There is a painting of Joseph Warren in the Château of Versailles, in France.

Passionist Sisters
MOUNT ST. JOSEPH
College Library

FRANCE AND NEW ENGLAND

Wherein is related the story of
LAFAYETTE'S VISITS TO BOSTON
AND OTHER PLACES IN NEW ENGLAND
together with facts pertaining to
HIS LIFE IN FRANCE
Also a description of the
LANDING *of* ROCHAMBEAU *and* THE FRENCH ARMY *in* NEWPORT
THEIR MARCHES *and* CAMPS THROUGHOUT NEW ENGLAND
AND A VISIT TO CHÂTEAU ROCHAMBEAU
To which are added
MANY VIEWS AND REPRODUCTIONS OF OLD PRINTS
AND THINGS OF INTEREST

By ALLAN FORBES and PAUL F. CADMAN

Volume I

Issued by the
STATE STREET TRUST COMPANY
OF BOSTON
In commemoration of the
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL
and the
ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
BY LAFAYETTE

1925

#660921

COPYRIGHT, 1925
BY THE
STATE STREET TRUST COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.

Edited, designed and printed by direction of
Walton Advertising & Printing Co.
Boston, Mass.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Lafayette's Eight Visits to Boston and his Journeyings in New England 1

Lagrange and Chavaniac, the Lafayette Châteaux 56

The House in which Lafayette Died 85

The Cemetery of Picpus and the Tomb of Lafayette 89

The Proposed Monument at Pointe de Grave, France, to Commemorate the Sailing of Lafayette and the Entrance of America into the World War 95

Arrival of Rochambeau and the French Army at Newport 101

General Rochambeau in Boston 113

A Visit to Rochambeau's Birthplace and Some New Lights and Old on the General himself 117

The Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army in New England. 131

Kindness of Henry Ford, Henry R. Chadbourne and L. Loring Brooks

COACH USED BY LAFAYETTE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, JUNE 17, 1825

It is one of the most interesting relics in the historical Wayside Inn, now the property of Henry Ford. Lafayette is said to have dined and spent the night at this famous Inn on his way to Bunker Hill.

FOREWORD

THE year 1925 marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument by General Lafayette, and the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of General Rochambeau. The State Street Trust Company four years ago conceived the idea, therefore, that this year would be an appropriate time to recall the very real help given by the French to our struggling young nation during the Revolutionary War when—inspired by Lafayette and other liberty-loving Frenchmen—France loaned us great sums of money and sent us the troops and fleet which so greatly contributed to the victory at Yorktown, which service was reciprocated by us in part when this country joined the Allies in the World War.

In 1920 this Trust Company, to commemorate the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims, issued the first of two comprehensive volumes (entitled "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland") dealing with the connecting links between cities and towns of New England and places in Great Britain whence they derived their names. These publications met with such favour it was felt that our friends might find interesting at this time a series of a somewhat similar nature commemorating the many years of friendly relations between this country and France.

The first volume of this new series, the twenty-first of our historical brochures, emphasizes the events in this country in which Lafayette and Rochambeau took part, confining the material as much as possible to New England. In following the histories of these two generals, we have tried to include records of their activities here of interest both to Americans and to the French. The scene of five chapters is laid in France, which we feel sure will be of particular interest to the people of this country. It was the privilege of the writer of this book, the President of the Trust Company, to have available for careful reading and study many of the interesting diaries written by French officers who took part in the War, and a great deal of the information here presented was gleaned from these valuable manuscripts. The translations were very kindly made by Mrs. H. A. Crosby.

The last chapter, "The Marches and Camp Sites of the French army in New England," is to a large extent original and we trust we may be pardoned for feeling justifiable pride in our ability to state that the writer is probably the only person who has followed the routes of march of the French army from Providence to the Hudson River on its way to Yorktown, and on the return march from the Hudson River to Boston, visiting and examining as well all of their camp sites in New England.

The numerous illustrations which appear have been chosen with a great deal of care in the hope that they will add to the interest of the publication.

The material obtained in France was collected by Mr. Paul F. Cadman who served during the World War in the American Ambulance Corps, then joining the French army as chief of an ambulance section. He later became a Captain in the American Expeditionary Forces and was awarded the Croix de Guerre for valour in action at Champagne. His name was suggested to us by Dean Beeckman, of the American Church of the Holy Trinity, in Paris.

Mr. Cadman was greatly assisted in his researches by Mr. Bertram Winthrop. From the former we have received the following lines which we would like to quote in this Foreword:

"Formal and documentary history has searched out and recorded all the details of the Franco-American military alliance from the official and diplomatic point of view. But the intimate story of the French in New England and the human story of the great Franco-American personalities have been neglected. It has been our purpose to study and set forth some of these details.

"In the preparation of my part of this work, I visited many of the finest public and private libraries of France as well as the National and Departmental Archives. In every case I was received with courtesy and kindness; frequently those in charge of the documents took it upon themselves to search out further evidence or to clarify and explain that which was available. The private citizens in whose homes are treasured the priceless Franco-American souvenirs were without exception generous in permitting the photographer to make the pictures for these volumes.

"For the great kindness and interest of all these collaborators we are truly grateful. Only the limitations of space prevent mentioning them all by name, but special recognition is due to the following without whose co-operation this work could not have been accomplished: Mr. Bertram Winthrop, the late Marquis de Lasteyrie, M. Louis Batcave, Mr. Walter Gay, Docteur Jules Sottas, M. Louis Jaray, Secretary of the Comité France-Amerique, Madame de Corcelle, M. Xavier de Pusy, Mrs. William Astor Chanler, M. de La Roncière of the Bibliothèque Nationale, M. Henri Dehérain, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut, M. Babolon, Conservateur, Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, M. Marcel Poëte, Directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire et d'Economie Urbaine, M. de la Monnerai, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris, M. le Moine, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, M. le Marquis de Rochambeau, M. le Vicomte de Noailles, Madame la Comtesse de Rivoire de la Batie, M. Henri Cordier, M. T. Boucher, du Musée Carnavalet, M. G. Hartman, M. le Chanoine Costecalde, M. R. Cagnat, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, M. Lyon-Caen, Doyen Honoraire de la Faculté de Droit, Baron D'Estournelles, M. Mozerelles, Conservateur, Musée de la Monnaie, M. Weiss, Bibliothécaire, Societé de l'Histoire du Protestantism Français, General Malleterre, Musée de l'Armée aux Invalides, M. Piccioni, Directeur des Archives au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, M. Bayle, Mademoiselle Jeanne Rivard, Mademoiselle E. M. Rieder-Street, and many others.

"I am deeply grateful to the State Street Trust Company for the rare opportunity which they accorded to a lover of France in the making of this study. Throughout my writings I have constantly had in mind the New Englanders for whom this work is prepared. This was not hard, for, although I am a native son of that far-off golden west, my mother and five generations on her side were born in Boston.

"One word more for Monsieur Pierre, the photographer of the Maison Giraudon in Paris. Monsieur Pierre accompanied me on all my journeyings. His interest in and his study of every photographic subject was like my own. Much credit is due him.

"May these pages make green many forgotten memories and happily may they shed some new light on the great story of Franco-American friendship."

As is customary in the preparation of our annual brochures, no pains have been spared to make this work not alone original and authoritative, but attractive from the standpoint of arrangement, design, illustration and typography. Records untouched by previous historians and places unvisited by them have been searched out and made use of both in France and America. We hope, therefore, that from a perusal of this a correct picture may be obtained of the course of an historic friendship.

It is the intention of the Trust Company to issue in the immediate future one or two more volumes describing other deeds of the French in New England.

The writer wishes first of all to thank Mr. Herbert Putnam, Mr. J. L. Farnum and Mr.

J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress in Washington for many courtesies in connection with the Rochambeau Papers and other French material; also the officials and clerical force of the Boston Public Library for the effective co-operation in unearthing information on this special subject, those who have helped us especially being Mr. Charles F. D. Belden, Mr. Pierce E. Buckley, Mr. F. C. Blaisdell. We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for much information given us, as well as to Dr. Roderick Terry, Mr. Lloyd M. Mayer and Mrs. R. Sherman Elliott of the Newport Historical Society. We are also indebted to Hon. Henry M. Hutchings for many corrections and suggestions made throughout the whole material; also to Mr. Marshall P. Thompson, the leading authority in Boston concerning the French in America, for much valuable help and advice; and to Mr. Walter Kendall Watkins for his readiness and accuracy in checking many statements. We must also include among those to whom we wish to give particular thanks, Mr. Perry Walton and his efficient staff. In the last chapter we have mentioned the great assistance given by Colonel Louis R. Cheney and Mr. F. C. Bissell, both of Hartford, who personally guided us over the larger part of the French line of march; by Mr. George L. Rockwell in personally conducting the writer through the western part of Connecticut, and by Mr. John R. Hess, Mr. Howard W. Preston, Mr. Howard M. Chapin and the late Colonel George L. Shepley, in guiding us through Rhode Island. Of our office force we wish to recognize Miss Edith E. Olson, Secretary to the President, who has looked after the large correspondence and taken care of much material in the preparation of these books; Mr. Ralph M. Eastman, an Assistant Vice-President of the Company, who did much of the research in Washington, D.C.; and also Mr. Arthur L. Richmond, an Assistant Vice-President of the Company, who has assisted the writer in his search for certain material.

Our thanks are also due to the following who have helped on this volume:

Lafayette's Eight Visits to Boston—W. F. Adams, Hon. A. Piatt Andrew, Miss Anna L. Andrews, Francis R. Appleton, William Sumner Appleton, Walter Austin, Albert C. Bates, R. Bernard, Miss Grace Blanchard, Joseph Bonnet, William A. Brade, Marion Brainerd, F. G. Brown, Rev. R. Perry Bush, W. H. Campbell, Miss Lydia A. Chadwick, Mrs. William Astor Chanler, Sidney Chase, George W. Chester, Erskine Clement, Walter H. Crockett, the late Judge Charles A. De Courcy, Frank C. Deering, Herbert W. Denio, C. J. Donaher, H. E. Dunnack, Erwin Edwards, Judge George Addison Emery, Sgt. Richard H. Evans, Stuyvesant Fish, Claude M. Fuess, Mrs. Homer Gage, Miss Elizabeth Gorton, E. R. Graham, I. Isabel Greeley, Appleton P. C. Griffin, Wallace Hackett, R. W. Frederick W. Hamilton, Grand Secretary, the late E. M. Hartwell, E. J. V. Huiginn, Frank Walcott Hutt, Charles E. Jackson, Mrs. Russell Jarvis, L. W. Jenkins, Amos E. Jewett, Alfred Johnson, Mrs. Mary Fifield King, Miss Grace E. Kingsland, William C. Lane, Guy Lowell, William E. Marvin, Horace H. Morse, Rev. J. N. Pardee, Mrs. Charles E. Perkins, Miss Clara G. Perry, Rev. George J. Prescott, Samuel F. Punderson, C. F. Reed, D. E. Roberts, Ernest E. Rogers, Henry S. Ruggles, Miss Frances B. Russell, Rev. John F. Scott, Arthur A. Shurtleff, Henry Davis Sleeper, Harry Worcester Smith, George A. Tenney, R. E. Tenney, Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, Gilbert G. Thorne, George B. Upham, A. J. Wall, Dr. J. Collins Warren, Barrett Wendell, Burton H. Winslow.

Visit to Lagrange and Chavaniac—Charles E. Kelley, Madame Charles Le Verrier.

Pointe De Grave Monument—F. L. Higginson, Miss Catherine B. Loring.

Arrival of Rochambeau and the French Army at Newport—Miss M. E. Powel, Walter K. Watkins, Hon. Eliot Wadsworth, Mrs. H. A. Wood.

Rochambeau's Visit to Boston—C. K. Bolton, William C. Lane, F. J. Stimson.

The Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army in New England—C. Collard Adams,

Roland F. Andrews, Francis Henry Appleton, Miss Frances M. Baker, T. W. Bicknell, William G. Billings, Karl F. Bishop, Mrs. Karl F. Bishop, Mrs. Herbert G. Bissell, C. K. Bolton, Miss Marie L. Bonier, Anna C. Brastow, F. B. Brightman, C. F. Burgess, Mrs. H. H. Cabot, A. W. Canney, Miss Ella D. Chapman, B. Ogden Chisolm, H. A. Crosby, J. P. Crosby, C. A. Dean, the late Mrs. Henry Dorrance, Benjamin G. Douglas, Francis Gilman, George S. Godard, Arthur Leslie Greene, W. E. Grumman, Rawson W. Haddon, Dr. Frank K. Hallock, Otis G. Hammond, Levin C. Handy, M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Miss Caroline E. Jones, Andrew Keogh, G. Ralph Laighton, Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Miss Emma E. Lessey, Allen B. Lincoln, W. B. Luther, John W. Martyn, E. C. Matthews, Jr., Matthews-Northrup Works (William Onasch, Manager), Prof. Wilfred H. Munro, Arthur T. Nettleton, W. J. Pape, P. L. Phillips, E. H. Pickering, John E. Prior, George L. Rockwell, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Miss Agnes G. Scanlon, Henry D. Sharpe, Mrs. Charles H. Smith, J. H. Soliday, Miss Florence P. Spofford, Granville S. Standish, Frank Farnsworth Starr, Frank C. Sumner, W. G. Tibbitts, Rev. M. D. Tierney, Alvin Untermeyer, W. B. Vernon, Miss Anna H. Ward, William Henry White, Miss Mary L. Whitman, Miss Edna H. Wilder.

GENERAL—Col. Paul Azan, Mrs. Boylston A. Beal, Clarence S. Brigham, Father Cabanel, Chaplain of the "Blue Devils," Miss Elizabeth B. Cabot, Mrs. T. S. Curtis, Mrs. Casimir de Rham, J. A. Favreau, J. C. J. Flamand, Otto Fleischner, W. Cameron Forbes, Mrs. William H. Forbes, *France-Amerique*, Thomas G. Frothingham, W. E. Fuller, John Russell Gladding, Arthur Green, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, the late Thomas Hathaway, Lewis Herreshoff, Mrs. C. F. Hoffman, M. Jourdray, Fred H. Kimball, de Lancey Kountze, H. F. Krafft, Miss Gladys R. Lane, Alfred G. Langley, Gaston Liebert, W. S. Martin, Prof. Louis J. Mercier, Charles I. Miller, Guy Murchie, Miss Alice Preston, John Purdy, Henry D. Sharpe, Miss Esther Smith, Lorillard Spencer, Charles H. Taylor, Rev. Wilson Waters, Mrs. F. S. Witherbee, Walter R. Whiting.

ALLAN FORBES,

President, State Street Trust Company

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Reproduced by permission of Frederick Warne & Co.*

THE LAFAYETTE STATUE BY BARTLETT IN THE PLACE DU CARROUSEL, PARIS.

"erected by the school children of the United States in grateful memory of Lafayette, statesman, soldier, patriot." The same inscription appears in French on the other side of the monument. The lower inscription reads: "This statue is a tribute of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to the illustrious memory of Lafayette— the friend of America — the fellow soldier of Washington — the patriot of two countries."

FRANCE AND NEW ENGLAND

LAFAYETTE'S EIGHT VISITS TO BOSTON AND HIS JOURNEYINGS IN NEW ENGLAND

THE attitude of the Marquis de Lafayette towards the struggling thirteen States is well expressed in a letter dated September 23, 1778. This letter was written to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, in reply to a resolution from that body commending him for his journey to Boston to confer with Admiral d'Estaing:

"The moment I heard of America I loved her; the moment I knew she was fighting for freedom I burnt with a desire of bleeding for her; and the moment I shall be able to serve her, at any time, or in any part of the world, will be the happiest of my life."

On another occasion, even before sailing for this country, he had already shown his interest and unselfishness in joining our cause. Silas Deane, then serving as an Envoy to France and later as one of the Commissioners, on October 7th of the year 1776, drew up the following agreement, the original of which was discovered in a barrel in the garret of the Treasury Department and is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford:

"The wish that the Marquis de La Fayette has shown to serve in the army of the United States of North America, and the interest that he takes in the justice of their cause making him wish for opportunities to distinguish himself in the war, and to make himself useful to them as much as in him lies; but, not being able to obtain the consent of his family to serve in a foreign country and to cross the ocean, except on the condition that he should go as a general officer, I have believed that I could not serve my country and my superiors better than by granting to him, in the name of the very honorable Congress, the rank of Major-General, which I beg the States to confirm and ratify, and to send forward his commission to enable him to take and hold rank, counting from to-day, with the general officers of the same grade. His high birth, his connections, the great dignities held by his family at this court, his considerable possessions in this kingdom, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and, above all, his zeal for the freedom of our colonies, have alone been able to induce me to make this promise, etc. . . . . ."

The Marquis, who, by the way, was only about nineteen years of age, agreed to these conditions and added some others that should for all time be remembered by Americans:

"To the above conditions I agree, and promise to start when and how Mr. Deane shall judge it proper, to serve the said States with all possible zeal, with no allowance nor private salary, reserving to myself only the right to return to Europe whenever my family or my king shall recall me. . . .'

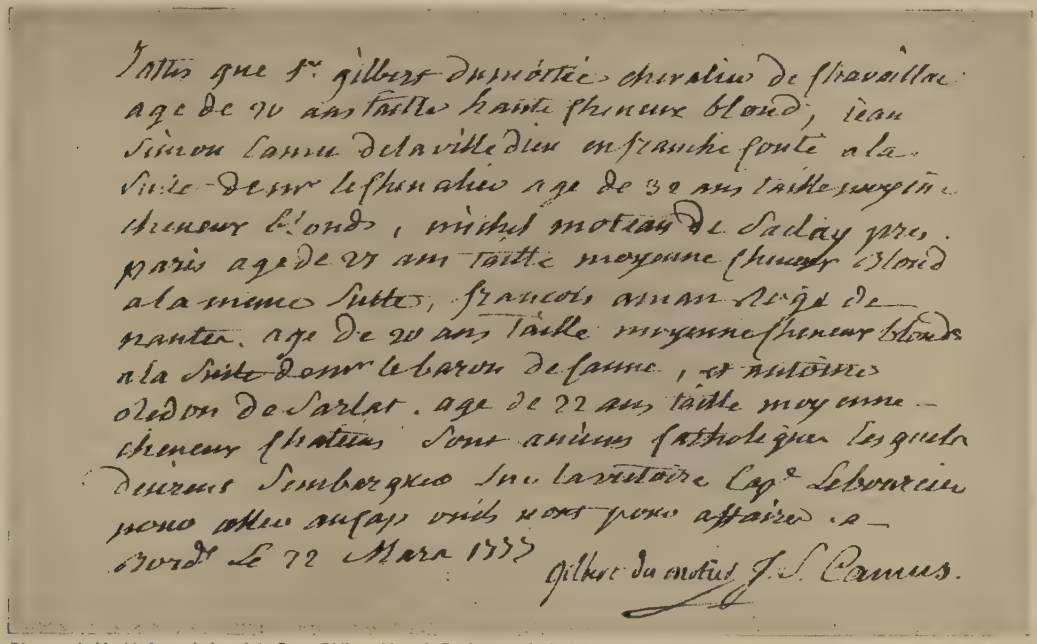
His decision to come to our assistance was made one evening in August of the year 1776 while he was stationed at Metz, at a dinner given by the Military Commander of the garrison in honor of the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke stated that the settlers in the wilderness (meaning America) had solemnly declared themselves an independent people, and these words induced Lafayette to come to his decision. Against the King's wishes, eluding his father-in-law, the Duc d'Ayen, who was equally opposed to his plans, and declaring that he had a "coup de tête," he purchased "La Victoire" from his own funds and sent her to Bordeaux. The Duc d'Ayen was so strongly opposed to his son-in-law's plans that one lady is reported to have exclaimed that if the Duc treated so badly a splendid man like Lafayette, he need not expect to marry the rest of his daughters. Almost everyone in Paris, however, looked with admiration upon his exploit. The King now demanded his return to Versailles where he had been studying, whereupon Lafayette took the vessel to Spain and then reported to his Monarch. In vain did he endeavor to obtain the consent of Louis XVI, but he determined in spite of this to aid the colonies, stating to the Commissioners that "Hitherto I have only cherished your cause; I now go to serve it." Just before leaving France he made this remark, narrated by Marshall P. Thompson of Boston: "I am off to America to fight for freedom, come with me." "Mon Dieu! what a hurry," said one of the company. "Can't you wait until after breakfast?" "Ma foi, where is America?" said another. "Of course I will go but must at least know where it is when I ask Papa for the sous." At this juncture, Lafayette's Colonel interjected: "I have seen your father killed and your grandfather in battle. You are the last of the race, and I don't want to see your red hair decorating a wigwam." Lafayette, however, managed to escape the messengers of the King by disguising himself as a post-boy. While stopping at an inn, he was served by a maid who had been in Paris and who recognized the Marquis. She started to speak, whereupon the traveler is said to have whispered, "Taisez-vous," and the danger was over. "You should drink a toast by and by," said Mr. Thompson before the Bunker Hill Monument Association in the year 1914, "to that maid of the inn for what she didn't do—for if she had spoken, it is quite possible there would never have been a French alliance, no monument at Bunker Hill, no Monument Association and no meeting on this seventeenth of June."

With fifteen or sixteen distinguished Frenchmen Lafayette sailed in "La Victoire" from Spain on April 20, 1777, arriving in South Carolina in July. This vessel sailed for France soon afterwards, but was lost while attempting to leave Charleston harbour. At this time he wrote to his wife:

"The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind; she is destined to become the safe and venerable asylum of virtue, of honesty, of tolerance, of equality and of peaceful liberty."

During Lafayette's journey to Philadelphia, a distance of nearly nine hundred miles, he wrote to his wife, in a letter dated the 17th of July, 1777:

"You have probably heard of the beginning of my journey and how brilliantly I started out in a carriage. I have to inform you that we are now on horseback, after having broken the wagons in



Photographed by kind permission of the Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest, September, 1909 *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

FACSIMILE OF THE ACT OF EMBARKATION OF LAFAYETTE AT BORDEAUX, FRANCE

A translation appears in the text. Lafayette, in order to escape detection, sent his vessel from Bordeaux, and went overland to the little port of Pauillac, where he joined her. He had to return to Bordeaux and finally sailed from Pasajes in Spain. This certificate was found in the archives of Bordeaux by Paul F. Cadman.

my usual praiseworthy fashion, and I expect to write you before long that we have reached our destination on foot. . . ."

He also stated that no campaign in Europe could have been more difficult to endure than this journey.

We are familiar with the cool reception which Congress accorded Lafayette when he first arrived at Philadelphia, which attitude was occasioned by the fact that the officers previously sent over by our Commissioner Silas Deane were not of suitable calibre. Lafayette, with extraordinary patience, made a protest to Congress couched in these well-known words: "After the sacrifices I have made I have a right to exact two favors; one is to serve at my own expense, the other is to serve at first as a volunteer."

He met General Washington at a dinner in Philadelphia, after which the American officer bade the French nobleman consider himself one of his family while in America. On July 31 he was appointed by Congress a Major-General in the Army of the United States, the vote reading:

"Whereas the Marquis de La Fayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and at his own expense came over to offer his services to the United States without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risque his life in our cause—Resolved, That his service be accepted, and that in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he have rank and commission of Major General in the Army of the United States."

We are told of a conversation that took place later in the camp between these two Generals soon after Lafayette's arrival, which met with great satisfaction among our soldiers. "It is

From a print in the State Street Trust Company

Courtesy of Paul F. Cadman

LAFAYETTE AS HE LOOKED WHEN HE FIRST CAME TO AMERICA IN 1777

somewhat embarrassing to us to show ourselves to an officer who has just come from the army of France," to which the Frenchman replied, "I am here to learn, and not to teach." This was his attitude throughout the war.

One sad and pathetic incident soon occurred. While actually celebrating with our army the glad news of the treaty, Lafayette received word of the death of his daughter Henriette. "I have never felt before the horror of my situation," he wrote his wife. "My heart is full of my own grief, and of yours which I was not with you to share; and the great length of time that elapsed before I heard this news adds to my distress. . . . The distance from Europe to America never seemed so immense to me as it does now. The dreadful loss of our child is in my thoughts every moment of the day. This news came to me immediately after that of the treaty, and whilst I was bowed down with grief I had to accept congratulations and take part in the public rejoicing." In December, 1777, he heard of the birth of his second daughter Anastasie, which had taken place in Paris almost six months before.

Boston saw the distinguished Frenchman twice during the year 1778, both of which visits were made to confer with Admiral d'Estaing, who had brought his fleet of vessels from Newport to be repaired. Incidentally it is of interest to mention that there is a tradition that at least part of the fleet tarried at Tarpaulin Cove off Naushon Island in order to fill their water casks from a pond nearby, called by the Forbeses "French Watering Place." Before coming to Boston, Lafayette had left camp at Providence and presented himself to the French Admiral aboard his flagship where he was received most cordially, although with some trepidation, as, it will be remembered, Lafayette had taken up our cause without the King's permission. D'Estaing reported the interview to his sovereign, adding that "No one is in a better position than this young general to become an additional bond of unity between France and America." The sudden departure of the French fleet was a disappointment to Lafayette, who in a long letter to General Washington, dated from his camp at Newport, August 25, 1778, expressed this idea:

"I think," said he, "I shall be forced by the board of general officers, to go soon to Boston. That I will do as soon as required, though with reluctance, for I do not believe that our position on this part of the island is without danger: but my principle is to do everything which is thought good for the service."

At the solicitation of General Sullivan, Marquis de Lafayette undertook the expedition, which was announced by General Greene to the commander of the American forces in these words:

"The Marquis is going to Boston also, to hasten the Count's return, and if possible to get the French troops to join the land forces here, which will the more effectually interest the Count in the success of the expedition."

From a coloured print in the possession of the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

LAFAYETTE AS HE APPEARED ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS FINAL DEPARTURE FROM AMERICA IN THE YEAR 1825

This long journey of seventy miles from Newport to Boston was made on horseback during the night of Friday, August 28, 1778, and was accomplished in the short space of seven hours. Lafayette arrived in this city at the same time that the French fleet was entering the harbour. E. M. Stone, in "Our French Allies," states that he came by relays of horses, but no account mentions how often he changed, and, as it took place during the war, our newspapers, as far as can be ascertained, made no record of either visit. The following day, August 29th, and part of Sunday, were spent in this city, and on the afternoon of the Sabbath, August 30th, he returned, covering the journey in half an hour less time than he had taken in coming. The Marquis reached Tiverton, Rhode Island, in the evening to find the American Army in retreat, and, without a moment's rest, he jumped off his horse and resumed command at once, taking charge of the rear guard. General Sullivan in his letter to Congress said:

"The Marquis de La Fayette, arrived about eleven in the evening from Boston, where he had been, by request of the general officers, to solicit the speedy return of the fleet. He was sensibly mortified that he was out of action; and, that he might not be out of the way in case of action, he had ridden hence to Boston in seven hours, and returned in six and a half—the distance nearly seventy miles. He returned in time enough to bring off the pickets and other parties which covered the retreat of the army, which he did in excellent order; not a man was left behind, nor the smallest article lost."

While in Boston he used every argument to induce Admiral d'Estaing, who, by the way, was a relative of his, to return to co-operate with the land forces operating in Rhode Island. The Council of this State was convened by General Hancock who had also repaired to Boston on the same errand. D'Estaing, to the delight of everyone, at a large dinner given in his honor in Faneuil Hall announced his decision to send several battalions to join the army in Rhode Island. The retreat, however, changed these plans, as expressed in an interesting letter written

on September 11th by General Washington to d'Estaing. Congress on September 9th, after hearing read a letter from d'Estaing and appointing a committee to draft a reply, resolved that:

"Congress have a high sense of the patriotic exertions made by the four eastern states on the late expedition against Rhode Island, and That Mr. President be requested to inform the Marquis de La Fayette, that Congress have a due sense of the sacrifice he made of his personal feelings in undertaking a journey to Boston, with a view of promoting the interest of these states, at a time when an occasion was daily expected of his acquiring glory in the field; and that his gallantry in going on Rhode Island when the greatest part of the army had retreated, and his good conduct in bringing off the pickets and out-sentries, deserves their particular approbation."

The Marquis in his reply of thanks expressed himself as quoted at the beginning of this article.

Lafayette's second visit to Boston occurred during the last few days of September, with the double object in view of planning, with the assistance of d'Estaing, an expedition against Canada, and also of smoothing over all the difficulties that had arisen owing to the unfortunate death in Boston of St. Sauveur, which took place on the fifteenth of the same month, and is described in another volume. Lafayette was stationed at Warren, Rhode Island, at the time, and made the journey to Boston, undoubtedly on horseback, with the "entire approbation" of General Washington. His visit lasted several days, but little is recorded about the details.

There remains little evidence of these first two introductions to our city; doubtless many interesting records were destroyed at Chavaniac during the French Revolution. There is, however, a letter dated September 1st from the Marquis to Washington, mentioning an incident of his early visit:

"Give me joy, my dear general, I intend to have your picture, and Mr. Hancock has promised me a copy of that he has in Boston. He gave one to Count d'Estaing, and I never saw a man so glad at possessing his sweetheart's picture, as the admiral was to receive yours."

Lafayette left Boston on the first of October whereupon he consulted with General Washington in regard to Canadian plans.

General Washington soon saw that it was necessary to make a more definite arrangement with the King of France, and he determined that he would send Marquis Lafayette back to France within a short time. He, therefore, addressed this letter to Congress, dated Fishkill, October 6, 1778, urging that the necessary furlough be given:

"*Sir*—This will be delivered to you by Major General the Marquis La Fayette. The generous motives that first induced him to cross the Atlantic, and enter the army of the United States, are well known to Congress. Reasons equally laudable, now engage his return to France, which in her present circumstances, claims his services. His eagerness to offer his duty to his Prince and country, however great, could not induce him to quit the continent in any stage of an unfinished campaign. He resolved to remain, at least, till the close of the present, and embraces this moment of suspense to communicate his wishes to Congress, with a view of having the necessary arrangements made in time, and of being still within reach, should any occasion offer of distinguishing himself in the field. The Marquis, at the same time, from a desire of preserving a relation with us, and a hope of having it yet in his power to be useful, as an American officer, solicits only a furlough, sufficient for the purposes above mentioned. A reluctance to part with an officer, who unites to all the military fire of youth an uncommon maturity of judgment, would lead me to prefer his being absent on this footing, if it depended on me. I shall always be happy to give such a testimony of his services as his bravery and conduct on all occasions entitle him to; and I have no doubt that Congress will add suitable expressions of his merit, and their regret on account of his departure . . ."

Lafayette at the same time wrote a note of explanation to Congress, in which he said in part:

"As long as I thought I could dispose of myself, I made it my pride to fight under American colours, in defense of a cause which I dare more particularly to call *ours*, because I had the good fortune

of bleeding for her. Now that France is involved in a war, I am led, by a sense of duty, as well as of patriotism, to present myself before my King and know in what manner he chooses to employ my services."

Congress a short time later, on October 21st, passed the following resolutions:

"That the Marquis de La Fayette, Major-General in the service of the United States, have leave to go to France; and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him; that the President write a letter to the Marquis de La Fayette returning him the thanks of Congress for that disinterested zeal which led him to America, and for the services he hath rendered to the United States by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions; that the Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made and presented, in the name of the United States, to the Marquis de La Fayette."

The Committee also reported a draft of a letter of recommendation of the Marquis to the King of France, which was voted. At this same sitting of Congress, Benjamin Franklin was appointed Minister at the French Court. Henry Laurens, President of Congress, also wrote the Marquis giving him word of his furlough being granted and wishing him a safe voyage, to which the French officer replied on October 26th:

"*Sir*—I have received your Excellency's obliging letter, enclosing the several resolutions Congress have honored me with, and the leave of absence they have been pleased to grant. Nothing can make me happier, than the reflection that my services have met with their approbation. The glorious testimonial of confidence and satisfaction respectfully bestowed upon me, by the representatives of America, though much superior to my merit, cannot exceed the grateful sentiments they have excited. I consider the noble present offered to me in the name of the United States, as the most flattering honor. It is my most fervent desire, soon to employ that sword in their service, against the common enemy of my country, and their faithful and beloved allies.—That liberty, safety, wealth, and concord, may ever extend, and bless these United States, is the earnest wish of a heart glowing with a devoted zeal and unbounded love for them, and the most sincere affection for their representatives."

It will be found interesting also to quote the letter of recommendation of the Marquis given to Louis XVI by our Congress:

"*Great, faithful and beloved friend and ally:*

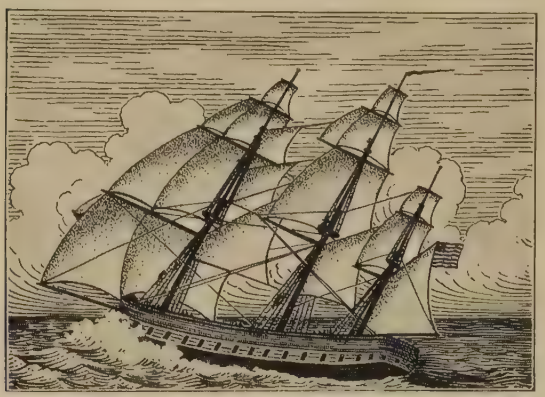
The Marquis de La Fayette having obtained our leave to return to his native country, we could not suffer him to depart without testifying our deep sense of his zeal, courage and attachment. We have advanced him to the rank of Major General in our armies, which, as well by his prudent as spirited conduct, he has manifestly merited. We recommend this young nobleman to your Majesty's notice, as one whom we know to be wise in council, gallant in the field and patient under the hardships of war. His devotion to his Sovereign hath led him in all things to demean himself as an American, acquiring thereby the confidence of these United States, your good and faithful friends and allies, and the affection of their citizens. We pray God to keep your Majesty in his holy protection. Done at Philadelphia, the 22d day of October, 1778.

By the Congress of the United States of North America. Your good friends and allies.

HENRY LAURENS, President."

It will be remembered that Lafayette had been in America for many months against the wishes of his sovereign and this letter undoubtedly made his return more easy.

When Lafayette was ready to depart from our shores, Congress came forward and offered him one of our best vessels of war, the frigate "Alliance," which had just been built at Newburyport and which was then in Boston Harbour. To this port the French General started on horseback, but a serious fever, brought on by exposure and bad weather, seized him, and he was obliged to delay at Fishkill, New York, for about three weeks. For some time fear was entertained for his recovery, and the people of the United States became alarmed



Photographed by George B. Brayton, Boston *Kindness of F. G. Brown of the Towle Manufacturing Company of Newburyport, Mass.*

THE U. S. FRIGATE "ALLIANCE"

which carried Lafayette back to France after his first voyage to America, sailing from Boston on January 11, 1779. This same vessel took the Marquis back to France from Boston on December 23, 1781, after Yorktown. The "Alliance" was built on the Merrimac River at Salisbury Point, near Newburyport. This picture was obtained from an excellent story written on Lafayette by the Towle Manufacturing Company.

lest they might lose "the soldier's friend," as Lafayette was often called. General Washington, whose headquarters were only eight miles away, went almost every day to inquire about the condition of his friend from across the seas. He did not enter the house where Lafayette lay for fear of disturbing him, but obtained the latest news of the patient from Dr. John Cochran, who finally nursed him to recovery. Washington had dispatched him to care for Lafayette. Even the invalid himself believed his end had come. Happily this was not the case, for he was able to continue his journey on horseback to Boston, arriving on December 11th (his third visit to this city). He was received with the warmest expressions of welcome and of sympathy from the citizens of this city. He asserted that his health had been restored by the Madeira wine given him by the people of Boston.

The crew of the "Alliance" was not complete, so that the vessel was not ready to put to sea until the 11th of January of the following year, 1779. On the day of sailing Lafayette wrote on board to his commanding officer:

"Farewell, my dear general; I hope your French friend will ever be dear to you; I hope I shall soon see you again, and tell you myself with what emotions I now leave the coast you inhabit, and with what affection and respect I am for ever, my dear general, your respectful and sincere friend."

General Washington some weeks later wrote him:

"I am persuaded, my dear Marquis, that there is no need of fresh proofs to convince you, either of my affection for you personally, or of the high opinion I entertain of your military talents and merit."

adding that he was sending the following letter to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, American Minister in France:

"*Sir*,—The Marquis de La Fayette, having served with distinction as Major-General in the army of the United States for two campaigns, has been determined, by the prospects of a European war, to return to his native country. It is with pleasure, that I embrace the opportunity of introducing to your personal acquaintance a gentleman, whose merit cannot have left him unknown to you by reputation. . . ."

There were a number of French officers on board, including Captain Raimondis of the "César," who had lost his arm in a recent fight and who had just received a present of a sword given by some citizens of Boston. The Chevalier de Pontigaband, who served in the war, was also on board, and, during a dangerous storm, went below to see how Lafayette was. "Diable," answered the General feebly. "I have done well certainly. At my time of life—barely twenty years of age—with my name, rank and fortune, and after having married Mlle. de Noailles, to leave everything and serve as a breakfast for codfish!"

With an enviable record of nineteen months' service for America, Lafayette, the "idol of Congress, of the Army, and of the United States," arrived, after a stormy voyage, at Brest on the 12th of February, 1779. This is the port which was the disembarking point for thousands of our soldiers in the World War. Lafayette was pleased to report that Brest saluted the flag of the "Alliance." He at once proceeded to Versailles, where he was welcomed by his wife and family, but to his surprise was placed in banishment by Louis XVI for eight days in the Hôtel (the French word for residence) de Noailles, in Paris, for having disobeyed his King in escaping to America. He enjoyed his "punishment" surrounded by his family and visited by his many friends. Furthermore, as he himself expressed it, "I had the honor of being consulted by all the ministers, and, what was a great deal better, of being kissed by all the women." The news of his triumphant return preceded him to Court, and he was soon permitted by the King to an interview. We are told that his Majesty received Lafayette graciously, complimented him on his successes in this country and made careful inquiries concerning events in the United States. The King at once put him in command of his regiment of dragoons, and while at Havre with these troops he received on August 29th, from the hands of Franklin's grandson, the sword voted him by our Congress. It had been made in France. The younger Franklin also presented to him this letter, written by his distinguished grandfather, and dated August 24th, 1779, from Passy:

Photographed by George B. Brayton from "Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette" by M. Jules Cloquet, M.D., physician to the General up to the time of his death in 1834

SWORD PRESENTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE

The presentation was made by the grandson of Benjamin Franklin at Havre, France, on August 29, 1779. This sword is now owned by Mme. de Pusy

"*Sir*,—The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment: they directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists of France, I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you; for this, figures, and even words, are found insufficient. I, therefore, only add that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honour to be,

B. Franklin.

P.S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honour of presenting it to you."

This sword (shown in an illustration) has engraved upon it pictures of the principal actions in which Lafayette had taken part up to this time,—Monmouth, Barren Hill, Gloucester and Rhode Island. Dr. Franklin added, as a conception of his own, a blazon of America in the form of a crescent moon, with the device, "Crescam et prosim," and beside it the device which Lafayette had adopted upon his own arms at the time when he set out for America, "Cur Non?" as shown in a cut on page 11. On part of the sword is a figure

Photographed by George B. Brayton from "Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette" by M. Jules Cloquet, M.D., physician to the General

ONE OF THE FOUR MEDALLIONS ON THE GUARD OF THE SWORD PRESENTED TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

depicting the Retreat of Rhode Island in which Lafayette took part immediately after having ridden on horseback from Boston on his first visit to the city. Lafayette, shown in the foreground, is represented as surrounded by some American officers and protecting the rear guard. The retreat took place during the night of August 30–31, 1778.

of Fame bearing the arms of France and also a picture of the vessel that brought Lafayette to America.

The Marquis replied on the 29th of August:

"*Sir*,—Whatever expectations might have been raised from the sense of past favors, the goodness of the United States to me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth, I find in the noble present, which Congress has been pleased to honour me with, and which is offered in such a manner by your Excellency, as will exceed any thing, but the feelings of my unbounded gratitude. In some of the devices I cannot help finding too honourable a reward for those slight services which in concert with my fellow soldiers, and under the god-like American hero's orders, I had the good fortune to render. The sight of these actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I shall ever enjoy with the pleasure that becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for its glory and happiness. . . ."

During the reign of terror this sword was buried; when, some years later, it was disinterred, the blade was found to have been destroyed by rust. The National Guards of Paris had given him a sword made from iron bolts and bars of the Bastille. Lafayette decided to have the blade of this sword adjusted to the hilt of the American trophy, thereby uniting two interesting relics, one representing our Revolution and the other having to do with the French Revolution. This relic, now the property of Mme. de Pusy, was exhibited at the Chicago Fair, together with many Revolutionary letters and presents given to the General by Americans on his pilgrimages, a few of which we will briefly mention. In the first place, the Hall of Honor in the French building was devoted to the memory of Washington and Lafayette and was copied from the parlor of the Ambassadors in the Château of Versailles in which Louis XVI received Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee to negotiate the treaty between the two countries. Moreover, some of the furniture from Lafayette's library at Lagrange was brought over and exhibited, also the pistols worn by the American General during the war, a chair of which the tapestry was worked by Martha Washington, Trumbull's painting of Washington, also a cane from a tree over his tomb and another cane given by a "full blooded Yankee," as the inscription reads, in the "City of Boston, North Street" on August 24, 1824. Still another cane was given to Lafayette, probably by the same individual, marked "June 17, 1825, Bunker Hill." This was probably the cane that was made from some of the woodwork that formed part of the old Bunker Hill memorial. Both of the latter canes are shown in an illustration on page 32.

Throughout the whole of 1779 Lafayette worked incessantly in the interest of the struggling colonies and undoubtedly accomplished more by remaining in France than if he had continued with the Continental army for the same length of time. He wrote to Congress that the affairs of America would be his first business while in Europe. He used to say to himself while in his native land that the cost of a single fête would have equipped the army of the

United States. Comte de Maurepas, Prime Minister, went so far as to say at a council meeting, "It is fortunate for the King that Lafayette does not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his dear Americans, as his Majesty would be unable to refuse it." The town of Orleans held fêtes for a week in his honor. He was really the adviser to Franklin and while on the other side he was in an interesting position for he met most of the Americans who were abroad and also most of the Europeans who were leaving for the United States. Truly he was the link between America and France.

While Lafayette was in his own country Washington wrote him:

"To hear from you, my most respected friend, will be the greatest happiness I can feel. The longer the letters you write, the more blessed with satisfaction I shall think myself."

These words of reassurance came back:

"My health is now in the best condition and I could not remember I ever was sick were it not for the marks of friendship you gave me on that occasion."

Again he wrote to his General:

"Nothing could delight me so much as the happiness of finishing the war under your orders. Be certain, my dear General, that in any case, in any situation, whether I act as a French or an American officer, my first wish, my first pleasure, will be to serve again with you. However happy I am in France, however well treated by my country and King, I have acquired such a habit of being with you, and am tied to you, to America, and to my fellow soldiers, by such an affection, that the moment when I shall sail for your country, will be one of the happiest of my life."

THE ARMS OF LA FAYETTE.

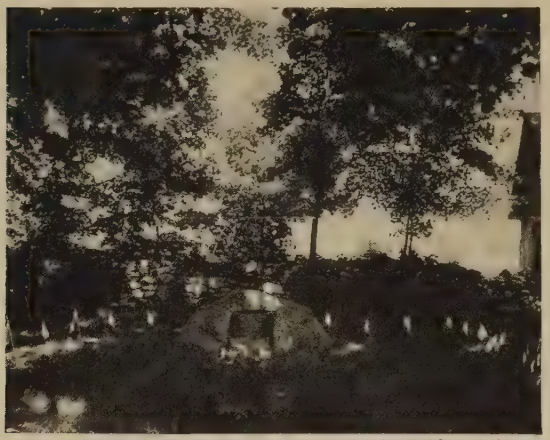
Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

LAFAYETTE'S COAT OF ARMS

Book Cover from Lagrange showing Lafayette's Coat of Arms which were taken as his bookplate at the time he decided to come to America. The "Cur non?" meaning "why not," signified his attitude of mind when this question came up. Many of the books at Lagrange bear this device. This cut is shown also on the cover.

Finally Lafayette accomplished the purpose of his visit to France, and under instructions from his Government started again for our country to carry to Congress and to General Washington the joyous news that "the King, willing to give the United States a new proof of his affection and of his interest in their security, is resolved to send to their aid at the opening of spring, six vessels of the line and six thousand regular troops of infantry," the convoy having orders "to land the troops in Rhode Island, where they may be at hand to join Washington's army, if he shall think it necessary."

Lafayette, wearing the uniform of an American officer, took leave of the King and on the 14th of March, 1780, sailed from the Island of Aix, in the French frigate "Hermione" commanded by Captain de La Touche, stopping at Rochelle on the way. On the 26th of the following month, after a long voyage, the vessel sailed up Boston Harbour while the guns on Castle Island and Fort Hill saluted. The French flag, flying from his vessel, is said to have aroused much interest. Lafayette now saw for the fourth time the Capital of Massachusetts. A few weeks after the arrival of the "Hermione," her commander cruised to Penobscot and viewed the fort at Baggaduce, now Castine, and a month later, in June, while on another cruise, she encountered a British vessel, sustaining the loss of her superior officers, La Touche and M. Velernais. The latter died at Newport on July 17th and was buried there the following day.



Kindness of Francis Gilman

TABLET IN THE OLD BURYING-GROUND AT NORWICH, CONNECTICUT,

marking the graves of twelve French soldiers who died in 1778 while there with a detachment of the army, probably en route from Providence. They are supposed to be buried on the left of the lane leading into the burial ground. Lafayette visited Norwich on his 1824 tour on his way to Boston.

On the 27th while in Boston Harbour, Lafayette dispatched this note to General Washington, which he forwarded as soon as he went ashore.

"Here I am again, my dear General, and, in the midst of the joy I feel, in finding myself again one of your loving soldiers, I take but the time to tell you that I came from France on board a frigate which the King gave me for my passage."

Washington replied from Morristown that:

"I most sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival in America, and shall embrace you with all the warmth of an affectionate friend, when you come to headquarters, where a bed is prepared for you. Adieu, till we meet. . . ."

On the 28th he landed at Hancock's Wharf amid the greatest enthusiasm. At the dock a procession was promptly formed composed of most of our citizens, which escorted him, amid salutes from cannon and peals of bells, to the house of John Hancock whose guest he was while in Boston. A visit to the Legislature, a reception and fireworks ended a strenuous time.

On the following day the French General and other officers paid a visit to General Heath and later he entertained on the "Hermione" the President of the Massachusetts Council, the Speaker and others of both Houses, the French Consul, the Navy Board and some of the distinguished merchants of the town (for Boston was then a town). The frigate was decorated with the flags of different nations. "Nothing," says a Boston paper, "could surpass the appearance of one of the finest frigates in the world." At the dinner thirteen toasts were made, each followed by a military salute. The toast drunk to Washington received seventeen guns, "the number," adds the paper, "given to a Marshal of France." When the company took its leave, the yards were manned and the barges conveying the company to the shore were saluted with thirteen guns. The Marquis at once wrote to Count de Vergennes:

"I do not know whether the reception which I have met with since my arrival, and the innumerable marks of kindness with which the American people have condescended to load me, have served to increase my enthusiasm; but I tell you the exact truth when I assure you, that I have been most highly gratified with the public sentiment in regard to all the circumstances of the French alliance; a fact which may be interesting to you. . . ."

The lodgings provided by the General Court for Lafayette on this visit were on State Street.

We believe it will prove of interest to quote from several of the Boston newspapers of May 4th some paragraphs descriptive of this visit. The *Independent Chronicle* said:

"Last Friday arrived here, His Most Christian Majesty's frigate the 'Hermione' of 36 guns, commanded by the Chevalier la Touch, in 36 days from Rochfort, with dispatches for Congress.

In this frigate came the Right Hon. the Marquis de La Fayette. . . . He was saluted by the castle and from the fortress on fort-hill. Soon after the ship came to an anchor the Marquis with

his suite were landed at General Hancock's wharf, where he was received with compliments and congratulations from the principal gentlemen of the town, and escorted by a number of the military, as well as other orders, with martial music, to State Street: the bells ringing and the populace testifying, in the most lively manner, their joy on this occasion.

A committee of both Houses was appointed to wait on the Marquis and conduct him to lodgings prepared for him by order of the General Assembly. In the afternoon the same committee attended the Marquis to the State House where he had a conference with both Houses and all respects that time and circumstances would allow, were paid to this distinguished Nobleman of France. . . .

Tuesday morning the following letter from the Marquis was communicated to both Houses of Assembly, viz.

'*Sir:*

On the point of leaving this place, may I be permitted once more to present to the Hon. Council and House of Representatives, my respectful thanks for the new obligations I am laid under to them, and to this Capital at large, by the flattering reception I have been honored with at my arrival. Nothing but those particular marks of their favor, and the grateful feelings they have excited, could increase the happiness I enjoyed in finding myself on the American shore, and the warm desire I feel of being again with my American fellow-soldiers, in the defense of our noble cause.'

By some gentleman who came in the French frigate, lately arrived here, we are informed, that the Marquis de la Fayette, when he took leave at the French Court, was dress'd in his American uniform. The particular attachment of the Marquis to America, led him to the choice of this dress on the occasion; the King made a delicate compliment to his new Allies in this indulgence; it being a new thing for a French Nobleman to appear at Court in a foreign uniform.

We are well informed that the King of France did the Marquis de la Fayette the honour to assign the frigate in which he arrived, for the express purpose of conveying him to America. . . . The Marchioness de la Fayette, a lady of the most distinguished accomplishments, has borne the Marquis a son, since he left America, to which from the warm esteem he has for General Washington, he gave the name of George."

The *Continental Journal* also had an excellent account, of which we quote in part:

" . . He begged to be landed in a private manner; notwithstanding a large number of respectable gentlemen of the town, with a number of officers of the army, attended with the band of musick, assembled on the grand pier impatiently expecting him but to their disappointment he landed on General Hancock's wharfe.—Gentlemen of the sword determined to pay their devoirs to their commander and friend, repaired thither with the band and escorted him to genteel lodgings prepared for him in State Street, amidst the salutations of cannon, the ringing of bells, the flying of colours and the acclamations of the populace. . . .

In the evening a bonfire was made before his house, attended with a large display of fire works from the balcony of Exchange Tavern, where a respectable number of young gentlemen of the town convened, to denote their joy at his arrival, and their respect for his character; . . .

The populace in the center of the evening, repaired to the Marquis' lodgings and saluted him with three huzzas. They received in return his most cordial thanks and the grateful acknowledgments of his esteem by a personal address. The manifestations of joy were wound up by ringing the bells at the North Church, where for an hour they pealed with echoes of his merits. . . ."

After a short stay he left to meet Washington and a few days later, on May 16, Congress resolved:

"That it consider the return of the Marquis de Lafayette to America, to resume his command, as a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause; and that they receive with pleasure a tender of the further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

This vote was passed before it was learned that reinforcements were soon to come from France, the only thought in the minds of the Congressmen being merely that the distinguished French General had returned to resume his position as an officer in the Continental Army.

The King's instructions brought by Lafayette were as follows:

"M. le Marquis de la Fayette, in proceeding to America, will hasten to join General Washington, to whom he will announce under the bond of secrecy that the King, who desires to give the United

Photographed for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON GROUP BY BARTHOLDI

In the Place des États-Unis, Paris, the gift of Joseph Pulitzer.

States a new proof of his affection and of his interest in their welfare, has decided to send out to them early in the spring a reinforcement of six ships of the line and six thousand men, of regular infantry."

Further instructions were:

". . . if the entrance to Rhode Island is clear and open, they will hoist upon Block Island and upon points Judith and Sekonnet, the French flag, white above, and beneath, upon the same staff, the red flag; in case, however, the enemy shall have retaken possession of the island, the American flag shall be hoisted, above and below, upon the same flag-staff, at the places aforementioned; . . . In order that there may be no surprise in connection with the duty upon which these officers shall be sent by M. le Marquis de la Fayette, and that, in case of accident, they may not be replaced by unauthorized persons, the watchword shall be 'St. Louis et Philadelphie . .' (Louis for the King). . . . It is intended to station an intelligent officer at Cape Henry also, under orders to join the fleet, who shall be sufficiently acquainted with the state of affairs in America, and especially as to the possibility of disembarking at Rhode Island, to give exact information to the French generals. In this case, the signals at Cape Henry shall be the same as at the approaches to Rhode Island, but the watchword shall then be 'Marie et Boston.' (Marie for the Queen)."

In June 1780, about two months after Lafayette's arrival, the promised help, namely, Rochambeau and his army, reached our shores, concerning which we include a chapter.

While serving in the United States at this time Lafayette was placed in charge of some light infantry, towards which his generosity was again in evidence. He had procured before this voyage here a supply of hats, shoes, swords and clothing, which he gratuitously presented to the men and officers under him. This corps was known by its red and black plumes purchased by Lafayette in his own country. On another occasion while on parade he noticed that an officer called Thames Coles, of Providence, carried a broken sword, and upon inquiry the French Commander was told that he was not able to purchase a new one. The Marquis, therefore, immediately presented him with his own sword, which has been a relic in the family to this day. Colonel Coles draped this sword in black when the news of Lafayette's death reached this country. This interesting relic of the war figured again at the time that the representatives of France visited Providence, on November 1st, 1881, the centennial year of the battle of Yorktown. It was inspected by those present with much interest, and after the examination one of the Frenchmen handed to Ex-Governor Hoppin his card, upon which appeared these words: "François de Corcelle, Redacteur au Department des Affaires Étrangères, great-grandson of General Lafayette."

From his camp before Yorktown, Lafayette wrote to Maurepas, the French Prime Minister, "The play is over, Monsieur le Comte, the fifth act has just come to an end!" He soon determined to petition Congress for a leave of absence in France, believing that he could render greater service there than by remaining here during the long winter months. Having obtained consent, he repaired, with his new laurels, to Boston, where the same frigate "Alliance," which had taken him abroad in 1779 from our port, lay in waiting for him. It has never been generally appreciated how much our harbour was used by the French as a port of operations during the war; Lafayette himself used it several times as a point of arrival or departure. The exact date upon which the Marquis came to Boston on his fifth visit is not definite, but we do know that he was here as early as December 14th, for on that day appears the first entry in the Town Records relating specifically to him. The entry of this meeting in Faneuil Hall we quote in part:

"It is with Regret that they have been made acquainted that your Present Viset must be short: But though your Residence in the Town would have afforded them an unspeakable Satisfaction, they will acquiesce in your Departure, from the Regard that they owe to their Country; being fully persuaded that your presence in Europe at a critical Conjuncture, will give you the Oppertunity of rendering most substantial Service to the Joint interest of France & the United States. . . ."

The Marquis made the following answer, of which we quote two of the three paragraphs:

"To have been Admitted among you from an early Period, in the Defence of the Cause of Liberty will forever be the happiest Circumstance of my Life. But it becomes more particularly so, when it is so kindly remembered by those who first began the Noble Contest, and who have ever since been so conspicuous in its Support.

Nothing could induce me to leave this Continent even for a short Period, before I had the Satisfaction to see my Friends in this Town—Be Pleased Gentelmen to Accept my most respectful Acknowledgements to your good wishes. The Height of my Ambition would be, and particularly to gratify those Affectionate Sentiments which forever devote me to this Metropolis."

The Town Clerk was directed to publish the address and the reply in some of the newspapers of the town.

"The Selectmen, early in October, granted the Merchants of this Town the use of Faneuil Hall 'for an entertainment to be given the French Officers, as a compliment for the protection they have cheerfully given the trade of this Commonwealth.' Whether Lafayette was at the entertainment is not certain."

General Washington again sent Lafayette a farewell message:

"I owe it to your friendship and to my affectionate regard for you, my dear Marquis, not to let you leave this country without carrying with you fresh marks of my attachment to you, and new expressions of the high sense I entertain of your military conduct and other important services in the course of the last campaign, although the latter are too well known to need the testimony of my approbation, and the former I persuade myself you believe is too well riveted to undergo diminution or change.

. . . If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your prince, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return. . . . . ."

Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney

TABLET IN ROCKVILLE, CONNECTICUT, INSCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

"In grateful memory of General Lafayette whose love of liberty brought him to American shores to dedicate his life and fortune to the cause of the Colonies. The Sarah Trumbull Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution erected this monument near the old King Tavern where he was entertained in 1824."

Lafayette boarded the "Alliance" on the 21st of December of the year 1781 and just before sailing, on the 23d, replied:

"Adieu, my dear General: I know your heart so well that I am sure that no distance can alter your attachment to me. With the same candour, I assure you that my love, my respect, my gratitude for you, are above expression; that, at the moment of leaving you, I felt more than ever the strength of those friendly ties that forever bind me to you, and that I anticipate the pleasure, the most wished for pleasure, to be again with you, and, by my zeal and services, to gratify the feelings of my respect and affection."

After a quick voyage of only twenty-three days, this young general, then only twenty-four

years of age and covered with glory, landed at L'Orient, which port figured several times in the exploits of John Paul Jones.

He hastened to Paris and then to Versailles, in both of which places he was received with great delight. Vergennes, then Secretary of State, wrote from Versailles in reply to a letter sent by Lafayette from the field of Yorktown: "Our joy is very great here and throughout the nation, and you may be assured that your name is held in veneration." Quite a different reception did he get from the King than on his first return from America in 1779. The Duc de Lauzun had carried to Paris ahead of Lafayette the news of the surrender. The King after listening with interest to Lafayette's report of conditions in America, inquired of his countryman, "But what were you doing all this time?" for the French General had evidently not mentioned himself once in this interview.

After a stay of about six weeks in Paris, Lafayette, with his wife and his son, now three years of age, left for his estates in Touraine. On the way he was surprised and pleased to be received by the magistrates in the towns through which he passed, by processions and the ringing of bells. The city of Orleans would not allow him to leave until it had fêted him a whole week. The King at once appreciated the services he had rendered and determined to reward his subject by making him a Maréchal-de-Camp, accompanying this honor with a letter reading as follows:

"The King having been informed, sir, of the military skill of which you have given repeated proof in the command of the various army corps intrusted to you in America, of the wisdom and prudence which have marked the services that you have performed in the interest of the United States, and of the confidence which you have won from General Washington, his Majesty has charged me to announce to you that the commendations which you most fully deserve have attracted his notice, and that your conduct and your success have given him, sir, the most favorable opinion of you, such as you might wish him to have, and upon which you may rely for his future good will. . . ."

The Queen presented him at this same time with her miniature.

Lafayette, as before, used every effort to further our interests in France and was especially successful in opening some of the French seaports to American commerce. Congress at this time acknowledged his efforts by passing this resolution in April 1783:

"Resolved, That Congress are satisfied with the reasons which have prevailed with major-general the marquis de Lafayette, for his stay in Europe, and his consequent absence from his command in the army of the United States; and have a high sense of the new proofs he has exhibited of his zeal in the cause of the said states, and of his constant attachment to their interests and welfare."

Soon the treaty of peace between England and the United States was signed and reported to Congress, whereupon General Washington wrote his brother officer begging him to revisit America to greet his companions-in-arms and friends, adding that nothing could add more to the pleasure of this interview than the happiness of seeing Madame de Lafayette with him, that he might have the honor of thanking her in person for the flattering letter she had been pleased to write him, and to assure her of the sincerity of his wishes and those of Mrs. Washington, that she could make Mount Vernon her home while she stayed in America. He urged her to see the country for which her husband fought, and added:

"Come then, let me entreat you, and call my cottage your home; for your own doors do not open to you with more readiness than mine would. You will see the plain manner in which we live, and meet with rustic civility; and you shall taste the simplicity of rural life. It will diversify the scene and give you a relief for the gayeties of the court when you return to Versailles."

He set sail on his third voyage to our shores on the packet ship "Courier" from Havre on the first of July, 1784, arriving in New York on the 4th of August. This time he was a

guest of our nation and not an officer-in-arms. For five months he was fêted wherever he went. He also visited Washington at Mount Vernon; soon after, these two Generals were to part at Annapolis never to meet again.

On October 15th he was met by some of the officers of the army at Watertown and escorted in a procession over Boston Neck to Boston, on his sixth visit to this town. Of his arrival the *Boston Magazine* of October 15th has the following interesting description:

"In the afternoon, the Marquis was escorted to Boston, by the officers, the consul, the captain of the frigate, and a numerous concourse of the most respectable citizens. At Roxbury, he was received and saluted by the artillery company, commanded by Major Spooner. His entrance into town was announced by the ringing of bells, and a salute from the Boston artillery, commanded by Major Davis, who conducted him through the town into State Street. . . .

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal" *Kindness of the Rhode Island Historical Society*

CURIOUS OLD SIGNBOARD OF THOMPSON HOTEL, IN THOMPSON, CONNECTICUT,

showing Lafayette on one of his journeys through America. The pair of horses appear to have only seven legs and the carriage is minus a wheel. This painting was seen by the writer among an exhibition of ancient tavern signboards in the Rhode Island Historical Society, which owns a painting of Lagrange, also articles once owned by Gabriel Bernon to be described in a later volume.

On passing the Liberty Stump, three cheers were given. At the Bunch of Grapes, the Marquis alighted, and, ascending the balcony, returned his thanks very politely to the gentlemen of every order for the attention they had shewn him. The officers of the army took their leave, and the whole concluded with three hearty cheers from one of the most numerous and animated assemblies we have ever seen."

It has been recorded that on the evening of his arrival the street lanterns were lighted for the first time since the peace. On Saturday the officers of the army waited on the Marquis at his lodging and presented to him the following address, viz.:

"We the late officers of the Massachusetts line of the Continental Army, embrace the first moment of your arrival in this capitol, to welcome you with all the sincerity and ardour of fraternal affection—an affection commenced in the dark hour of our conflict, elevated and perfected through the successive vicissitudes of the war.

We beg leave to observe, that we have had repeated our occasions to witness the display of your military talents and of joining in the approbation and applause, which our beloved Commander in Chief so frequently expressed of your conduct. We are deeply impressed with a sense of the various and important services you have rendered our country; and it will be the pride of some enlightened and patriotic historian, to enumerate your actions in the field, and to illustrate your incessant efforts, to promote the happiness of the United States.

. . . Animated by virtue, and the auspices of your own fame, may you go on to add to the splendor of your character, and heighten the glory of your country, by placing the name of La Fayette upon the list with Condé, Turenne, and her other immortal heroes.

In behalf of the officers of the Massachusetts line.

H. Knox.
Boston, 15th Oct., 1784."

The Marquis' answer in part was:

"From the instant of our parting, gentlemen, I have been eagerly looking forward to this period—how far my pleasure is completed by your so kind welcome, I leave, my beloved friends, your own hearts to determine.

While your action and confidence ever made me happy, let me gratefully acknowledge, that, for the marks of our General's approbation, I felt myself wholly obliged to the gallant troops I commanded. Could any conduct of mine, in some degree justify your partiality, it will be the pride of my heart to think our American camp was my school, everyone of you my brothers, and that I was adopted as a disciple and son by our immortal Commander in Chief.

. . . During my absence, gentlemen, my heart has been constantly with you. As an army we are separated,—but forever, I hope, shall unite in a brotherly affection. . . ."

On the eighteenth the Legislature of Massachusetts passed this resolution:

"That: The Marquis La Fayette be invited, by the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Executive, to meet the two Houses of Assembly in the Senate room, to congratulate him upon his safe arrival in the United States, after the final establishment of peace, to which his friendly influence in Europe had largely contributed."

The following day, the third anniversary of Yorktown, was chosen as a suitable one for this event and on this occasion Governor John Hancock officially received the illustrious visitor. On the same day five hundred of the leading citizens of Boston gave their honored guest a dinner in Faneuil Hall. Most of the Frenchmen then residing in Boston were present at this banquet. Lafayette was seated under a large fleur-de-lis; the upper end of the hall was decorated by thirteen arches, this number representing the number of the States then in the Union. After each of the thirteen toasts, thirteen cannon were discharged in Market Square by Major Davis' train of Artillery. These salutes were answered by a like number from the Castle and by his Majesty's frigate "La Nymphe," then in the harbour. After the toast to Washington, a curtain was pulled aside disclosing a painting of the General, wearing the colors of America and France, whereupon Lafayette shouted "Vive Washington!"

During this visit Lafayette was taken by Mr. Breck to see a Town Meeting in Faneuil Hall, and Samuel Breck, the son, in writing of this experience says, "my father invited him to go to Faneuil Hall to hear the discussion of some municipal law then in agitation. 'You will see,' said he, 'the quiet proceedings of our townsmen. . . .' " The meeting was called to order by the ringing of the bell in Dr. Samuel Cooper's church which attracted an overflow meeting. The Marquis, of course, had a special seat assigned to him. Presently the debate opened, which ended in personal sarcasm and many attacks. Such disorder was soon created that the Elders of the town decided to break up and postpone the meeting. On leaving the room Mr. Breck said to the Marquis: "This is not the sample which I wished to show you of our mode of deliberating. Never do I recollect to have seen such fiery spirits assembled in this hall, and I must beg you not to judge of us by what you have seen today; for good sense, moderation and perfect order are the usual characteristics of my fellow-townsmen here and elsewhere." "No doubt, no doubt," said the Marquis, laughing, "but it is well enough to know that there are exceptions to the general rule." Lafayette must have been much amused over the outcome.

In December of the same year when the Marquis was about to bid adieu to our shores, he addressed a note to Congress, requesting permission to take leave of that body. It was, therefore, resolved,

"that a committee to consist of a member from each State, be appointed to receive the Marquis, and in the name of Congress, take leave of him. That they be instructed to assure him that Congress continue to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe. . . ."

Congress further resolved,

"That a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty, and signed by the President of Congress,

Kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

OLD STATE HOUSE IN PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,

where Washington and Lafayette were received. The latter, as the guest of the nation, visited this city in August, 1824, William Blodget being the Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. Lafayette went to Providence on many other occasions during and after the war.

expressive of the high sense the United States entertain of the real talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis La Fayette; and recommending him to the particular favour and patronage of his Majesty."

This committee received the Marquis in the Hall of Congress. As he departed he concluded his address by saying:

"Never can Congress oblige me so much as when they put it in my power in every part of the world to the latest day of my life to gratify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States."

It must be remembered that he was only twenty-seven years old at the time of his departure from New York, which city, as he left the harbour, saluted him with the customary thirteen salutes, each representing a State which wished to honour him. During this year many of our States passed laws naturalizing the Marquis and his male descendants. Connecticut was the second one to offer these privileges. The State of Massachusetts also passed a special act of

naturalization, an honor which was acknowledged by Lafayette in a letter to his life-long friend, Samuel Breck. "To be naturalized a Massachusetts-man, as well as my posterity," said he, "will be one of the most honorable, and the most pleasing circumstances of a life which is forever devoted to live and to serve your country."

Three years after Lafayette's return to France, the Boston fire of 1787, which laid waste one hundred or so buildings near Hollis Street, was reported to him, and with his accustomed generosity he immediately sent over through his friend Samuel Breck three hundred and fifty pounds to relieve the sufferers. The people of Boston were not rich at that time. Again we hear of him, on a visit to Cincinnati, surreptitiously paying off the mortgages on the property of Colonel Neville, who was at one time one of his aides. Another act of generosity was shown in connection with the gift of land in Louisiana presented to him by this country. Congress by mistake ceded some lands to the city of New Orleans, which, unfortunately, included the property presented to Lafayette. The Marquis was advised that he could legally retain it, but he generously donated it to us, a sacrifice at that time of over fifty thousand dollars.

There is another fact relating to Louisiana, then one of the fourteen states, to which reference has never been made, as far as we know, in all the histories of Lafayette. Edward Everett in his oration at Faneuil Hall in 1834, on the anniversary of the General's birth, September 6th, mentioned that the Frenchman had refused the governorship of Louisiana immediately after its purchase by our government. Inquiry from Mr. Herbert Putnam, and his assistant Mr. Griffin, of the Library of Congress in Washington, brings out the following interesting correspondence, which for some reason seems to be known to but few. Thomas Jefferson under date of November 4, 1803, wrote Lafayette as follows:

"I sincerely wish you were here on the spot, that we might avail ourselves of your service as Governor of Louisiana, . . . now among the most interesting spots of our country, and constitutes the most important charge we can confer. I believe too you would have found it a pleasant residence."

The General replied on February 26th of the following year, evidently thoroughly appreciative of this graceful compliment:

"Your friendly favor, Nov. the 4th, is the last I have received. I heartily thank you for the regret that you express that I was not on the spot to be honoured with your choice as Governor of Louisiana. Amidst my proven wishes for every extension of American liberty I would have felt particularly happy to cherish it on that kindred land. But all will combine to make these adoptive brethren understand, enjoy, and for love insure to themselves and posterity the honours and advantages of such a citizenship."

To a friend he said: "I shall not go to America . . . at least in a diplomatic capacity, but at present I am much more intent upon farming than upon embassies. It seems to me, that were I to arrive in America in any other costume than an American uniform, I should be as embarrassed with my appearance as a savage in breeches."

It is not our intention to dwell upon the part taken by Lafayette during and after the French Revolution. During these stormy times his thoughts often went back to the United States, which he had the satisfaction of knowing were growing prosperous and strong. In the year 1824 he was removed from his government position; and when, on February 24 of that year, President Monroe invited him to visit America, he was in a position to accept. He declined, however, to take advantage of our offer to send to any port in France a frigate to convey him here. The following month Josiah Quincy, then Mayor of Boston, by request of the City Council, wrote the distinguished General as follows:

"The City of Boston shares in the universal pleasure which the expectation of so interesting an event has diffused, but it has causes of satisfaction peculiarly its own. Many of its inhabitants recollect, and all have heard, of your former residence in this metropolis;—of the delight with which you were greeted on your second visit to this country;—and of the acclamations of a grateful multitude, which attended you, when sailing from this harbour on your last departure from the United States, and also of that act of munificence, by which in later times you extended the hand of relief in their distress. . . . With feelings of this kind, the City Council of Boston, in accordance with the general wish of their constituents have directed me to address this letter to you and to express the hope that should it comport with your convenience, you would do them the honor, on your ensuing visit to the United States, to disembark in this city, and to communicate the assurance, that no event could possibly be more grateful to its inhabitants."

We also quote in full the characteristic appreciative reply dated Paris, May 26, 1824:

"*Sir*—Amidst the new and high marks of benevolence the people of the United States and their representatives have lately deigned to confer upon me, I am proud and happy to recognize those particular sentiments of the citizens of Boston, which have blessed and delighted the first years of my public career, and the grateful sense of which has ever since been to me a most valued reward and support. I joyfully anticipate the day not very remote, thank God, when I may revisit the glorious cradle of American, and in future I hope of universal liberty.—Your so honorable and gratifying invitation would have been directly complied with in the case to which you are pleased to allude. But while I profoundly feel the honor intended by the offer of a national ship, I hope I shall incur no blame by the determination I have taken, to embark as soon as it is in my power on board a private vessel. Whatever port I first attain, I shall with the same eagerness hasten to Boston, and present its beloved, revered inhabitants, as I have the honor to offer it to the City Council and to you, Sir, with the homage of my affectionate gratitude and devoted respect."

Hon. James Lloyd, Jr., of Boston, at one time a Senator of the United States, had a short time before invited him to stay at his residence. The City Council on July 22d approved of this action and passed a resolution that he should be the guest of the city while here. Lafayette replied to Mr. Lloyd in May, saying in part:

"No feelings of that kind can be more welcome to me than in the renewal of my old acquaintance with the darling child of my friend Samuel Breck, now become your worthy lady. Present her my tender and grateful respects.

Whatever be the part of the United States, where I will find myself on my attaining the beloved shore, I shall not lose time in my eagerness to revisit the city of Boston, and answer the flattering invitation I have lately received. You do justice to the delight I shall feel at the sight of the felicity and prosperity, which has been the due reward of a virtuous Revolution, founded on the principles of true liberty and self government. With the fond hope to have before long the pleasure to take you by the hand. . . ."

Our visitor, with his only son, named as is well known for George Washington, left Paris on July 11th, to embark from Havre on the "Cadmus" on the 13th. He was also accompanied by his secretary, A. Levasseur, who has written an excellent though incomplete account of his visit. As he boarded this vessel, he passed beneath the American flag, whereupon he was greeted with three cheers by all the crews in port and by the large crowd along the shore that had congregated to bid him farewell. As the "Cadmus" sailed up New York Harbour on August 16th, Lafayette noticed many sailing crafts of all kinds flying flags, and some with bands of music on board. "What does it mean?" he asked innocently. "It must be some anniversary of the American Republic." He was soon told that it betokened the joy of the people of New York in welcoming again the great Frenchman, "the man of two worlds," as he has sometimes been termed. Salutes from Fort Lafayette at the "Narrows," an escort of Lafayette Guards and a reception before the members of the Bar were among the important events during his very short stay in New York. Another incident, too, is worth recording; while

From a photograph *Kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"*

MANSION HOUSE

formerly called the Roger Williams Inn, and also known as the Golden Ball Inn, on Benefit Street, Providence, where George Washington and Lafayette stayed. The Inn has been changed since the Revolution.

attending a meeting of the New York Historical Society, the General sat in a chair presented by Gouverneur Morris, which had been used by the unfortunate Louis XVI.

There is now in the Mayor's reception room in City Hall a painting of the General, done in 1824, by Samuel F. B. Morse, the famous inventor of the telegraph. While he was sitting for it Mrs. Morse suddenly died, and when Lafayette heard the sad news he hastened to Mr. Morse, and, as an eye witness said, "took him in his arms and kissed him and wept over him, as if he had been his own child."

The New York Committee urged the General to stay with them longer than these few days, but in spite of the request he refused, saying:

"I cannot, for I wish to be in Boston, that I may visit Cambridge on Commencement day, where I shall meet many of my old friends. You know my attachment to you all, I am heartily glad to see you, but must make a visit immediately to Boston, and will return again."

He left that city on August 20th, his journey through New York, Connecticut and Rhode Island to Boston arousing a continuous ovation. We will not attempt to describe the cheering, the cavalcades that met him, the roars of the cannon at the different towns, the kisses of the children, the parades, balls, fireworks, breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, speeches, and the most touching of all, the joy and tears of the soldiers who had served with Lafayette in the war. In fact, he was received with so many honors, that Bayard Tuckerman, in his "Life of the General," declared that a new word had been coined, for when extraordinary honors were paid to anyone, that person was said to have been "Lafayetted." Five days and almost five whole nights were consumed in the journey to Boston; relays of horses were supplied about every ten miles. Levasseur, his Secretary, gives this vivid description of the trip:

". . even our night marches had a charm which caused us to be forgetful of it. The long file of carriages escorted by horsemen bearing torches; the fires lighted from place to place upon the tops of the hills, and around which were grouped families whom the desire of beholding their guest had kept watching; the somewhat wild sound of the trumpet of our escort, repeated several times by the woodland echoes, the sight of the sea which occasionally came into view on our right, and the distant and decreasing peal of the bells which had announced our passage, all formed around us a picturesque and enchanting scene, worthy of the pen of Cooper. . . ."

Lafayette was met at New Rochelle by twelve sons of patriots who had taken part in the Revolution, and thereupon conducted to Greenwich, Connecticut, the General riding in a stage coach. At Bryan bridge, called the gateway to New England, he was met by the people of the town in gala attire. The procession then passed along the Boston Post Road, which ran through the old part of Greenwich called at that time Horseneck, because the contour of the shore did resemble the neck of a horse. Almost every resident repaired to Putnam's

Hill, and as the General walked down the steps a salute of twenty-four guns was fired, one of the first honors paid to him in New England. While stopping for a few moments at the Weed tavern, now a homestead, he recognized one of his escorts from New Rochelle, and on being told that he was the landlord's son, the General cut one of the silver buttons from his waistcoat and with a few words of thanks presented it to him. This keepsake is still treasured in the Weed family to whom it has descended. As Lafayette passed under the flag he stood still for a few moments with bowed head. At the foot of the hill the Committee bade him goodbye, and as the Chairman, Rev. Isaac Lewis, shook his hand, he said, "General, America loves you." "And I," was the reply, "most truly love America." In this manner was the distinguished visitor welcomed into Greenwich, Connecticut, and New England.

The cavalcade now traveled so rapidly that many persons who failed to see him as he passed through their towns drove to the next stopping-place in hopes of being able to catch up with the visitor. Many people walked miles to get a glimpse of him, and it is related, too, that boys and girls, having been brought up on the story of Lafayette and his efforts to assist the colonies, walked and ran barefooted for miles in order to salute him. A story is told of a joke at one of the turnpike gates. A man remarked to the old lady who was opening the way for Lafayette:

"Well, madam, I suppose you are very glad the Marquis has come, as you must have made oceans of money today?" The woman indignantly replied: "You must know that the General and his friends go through this gate free of toll and I should like to have him pass a thousand times!" "Oh, then your gates are free today?" "Yes," answered the Connecticut dame, "for such men as La Fayette, but not for those who come so far behind him." This rejoinder brought forth a good sized fee.

On another occasion when the Marquis was receiving congratulations, a boy came forward and shook hands with him, exclaiming, "Sir, my father and mother have taught me from my childhood to speak your name with reverence and affection." The Frenchman was much affected, and taking him in his arms, said: "O, yes, you are all my children, aren't you?" Lafayette was always anxious to please everyone and it is said that he was very apt to ask anyone whether he were married or not. If he answered in the affirmative Lafayette would say "lucky man," and if he answered in the negative his answer was exactly the same. Still another anecdote is related by Alice Van L. Carrick. The General purchased in America a hat, and as he was about to pay for it the storekeeper said that all hats he could supply to the Lafayette family had been paid for forty years before.

The journey continued through Stamford, where a short time was spent at the

Kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

ELISHA BROWN HOUSE IN PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, OCCUPIED BY LAFAYETTE DURING THE REVOLUTION

It is situated at 537–9 North Main Street and is the oldest brick house in the city.

house of Hon. John Davenport, then to Norwalk, Saugatuck, Fairfield, Bridgeport and Stratford, and then to New Haven, where he was received by Governor Wolcott of Connecticut, a great uncle of the late Governor Wolcott of Massachusetts. The Connecticut representative congratulated Lafayette on his arrival in the United States and bade him welcome to the State of Connecticut, where, as he expressed it,

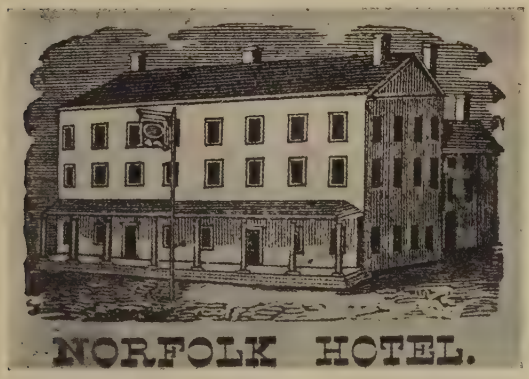
"You will find none but sincere friends, who feel grateful for your distinguished services in favour of their country, and admirers of your eminent exertions in support of their principles both here and in Europe."

The Governor's aides on this occasion were his son, Oliver S. Wolcott, and his son-in-law, Colonel William Gracie. The Marquis was received in New Haven by the President, the Faculty and students of Yale. It happened to be Sunday when he arrived, and he expressed the wish that he might attend a church service. On learning of his desire Episcopalians and Congregationalists both extended to him an invitation, which embarrassed him a good deal as he did not know which he ought to accept. He finally decided to attend both services so as to offend no one. The journey was then continued through Guilford, Saybrook and Lyme to New London, where he was saluted from Fort Trumbull.

The people of Connecticut wore ribbons in their waistcoats as a mark of respect during Lafayette's progress through that State and practically all business was suspended. At one town the driver of the coach which the Marquis was about to enter said to one of his horses: "Behave pretty now, Charley, you are going to carry the greatest man in the world." Another Connecticut resident said he understood that Lafayette was very poor, but that he was one of ten thousand in the State who would like to have him stay under his roof forever.

The Norwich Committee met the General en route and persuaded him to visit that city at the head of the Thames, where a large supper was given for him. One writer thus describes another of his visits here:

"There were some who long remembered the appearance of the noble La Fayette, as he passed through the place on his way to Newport. He had been there before and needed no guide; his aides and a small body-guard were with him and he rode up to the door of his friend, Colonel Jebidiah Huntington, in a quick gallop. He wore a blue military coat, but no vest and no stockings; his boots being short, his leg was consequently left bare for a considerable space below the knee."



Photograph of an advertisement from an old Dedham newspaper *Kindness of Walter Austin*

VIEW OF THE NORFOLK HOTEL, DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS,

taken about 1724. It is believed that Lafayette made an hour's stop here on his journey to Boston late in the evening of Monday, August 23, 1824. This old building, much renovated, is now the property of Walter Austin

As Lafayette was most careful of his dress, we doubt this last statement. It may be of interest to mention that in the old Burying Ground is a memorial which reads as follows: "In memory of Twelve French Soldiers who serving under Lafayette died while in Camp at Norwich Town, 1778." These men were probably with a detachment of the French Army which spent fifteen or so days in Norwich. It is stated that they spread their tents upon the plain and that the sick were quartered in the court house.

Kindness of Walter K. Watkins

LAFAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS DURING HIS VISIT TO BOSTON IN JUNE OF THE YEAR 1824

This house, erected by Thomas Amory in 1804, is still standing, on the corner of Beacon and Park Streets. At the time the famous general occupied it, the property was owned by George Ticknor.

The road then led to Providence, Rhode Island, through the town of Plainfield, thence following the old road over which the army marched. At Providence every horse and vehicle was requisitioned and the western road was lined with citizens all eager to welcome the nation's guest, for to them Lafayette was better known than he was to other towns since the war had taken him to Providence many times. The windows of the houses along the line of procession were crowded with eager onlookers. One incident was long remembered by those present; while ascending the steps of the State House at Providence, Captain Stephen Olney, who had served under the French officer and who was the first to force the enemy's works at Yorktown, approached Lafayette, by whom he was at once recognized. The two Revolutionary officers then embraced amid the shouts of the multitude. Lafayette also met William Russell, then in his eighty-fifth year, and the two renewed their friendship of days before. This officer had served under the French General as a volunteer on Rhode Island. On leaving Providence, the troops, at Lafayette's suggestion, were drawn up for review in a line along the street leading to Pawtucket, and the General proceeded past them on foot, supported on the Governor's arm, at frequent intervals stopping to shake hands with the principal officers.

Almost the entire route to Boston was lined with people and decorated with flags; the Marquis was met at the Massachusetts State line by two of the Governor's aides. At Walpole four companies of militia saluted him. Dedham was reached after a forty-mile drive, at eleven o'clock in the evening, Monday, August 23d, amid the ringing of the church bells; most of the houses and buildings were illuminated. Here he waited only an hour to meet a number of people who wanted to see him. He is supposed to have stopped at the Norfolk Hotel, now the attractive residence of Walter Austin. Instead of remaining for the night in Dedham, which was frequented in those days by many strangers and foreigners, the party pushed on as rapidly as possible to Roxbury, which they reached by torchlight at two o'clock the following morning, stopping at the residence of Governor Eustis. "Two hours sleep made us forget the fatigues of the day and rendered us fit for entering Boston in the morning," wrote Levasseur in his memoirs. On this strenuous journey Lafayette was asked if he were not tired, to which he replied that he had so much pleasure on the way he had not time to be fatigued. Evidently his long journeys did not interfere with his appetite, for we hear of his having eaten for breakfast, some time previously, six perch and a quantity of hominy, finishing off with a canvasback duck and a glass of Bordeaux. Josiah Quincy writes that it was fortunate he wore a wig as the weather was cold and he had to take his hat off so many times.

When Maréchal Foch came to New England it was suggested that he should follow this same route on his way to Boston, but this plan was found to be impracticable. As Foch passed the Amory-Ticknor house at the head of Park Street, Boston, where the officer of Revolutionary days stopped, he raised his hat as a compliment to Lafayette.

Lafayette had known Governor Eustis of Massachusetts during the Revolutionary days, and their meeting was an interesting one. The latter declared, "I am the happiest man that ever lived." At daybreak the light infantry appeared under the General's windows, maneuvering and playing martial music for his benefit. The sight greatly affected the Marquis, who kept exclaiming, "My brave light infantry. . . . How much I loved them." Presently a man appeared with a sword that his father had received from Lafayette, which the General brought from France and which he recognized at once.

The Marquis was escorted by a cavalcade to the city limits, where the city authorities in sixteen carriages, headed by Mayor Quincy and Colonel Amory, met him. Mayor Quincy mentioned in his "Figures of the Past," written many years later, the free punch furnished at the city line, a natural proceeding in those days. He then goes on to explain that the first sight of the General, in an open barouche, drawn by four white horses, awakened an enthusiasm which he could not attempt to describe. Levasseur goes on to narrate the arrival:

"The concourse of people coming out of the city was great, and so much obstructed the road, that we were two hours in riding the distance of only two miles. All the road was lined with troops on foot and on horseback. The carters of Boston, dressed in perfectly white frocks, formed a numerous corps of well mounted cavalry. Sixty small boys, from twelve to fourteen years old, organized as an artillery company, and having two pieces of cannon proportioned to their strength, ran in front of the procession. From time to time they halted and fired a salute from their battery, and then pushed forward with rapidity, to take another position, and fire another salute. At noon we reached the suburbs of Boston."

At the boundary line the Mayor received Lafayette with these words:

"The citizens of Boston welcome you, on your return to the United States . . . When urged by a generous sympathy, you first landed on these shores, you found a people engaged in an arduous and eventful struggle for Liberty, with apparently inadequate means, and amidst dubious omens. After the lapse of nearly half a century, you find the same people prosperous beyond all hope, or precedent; their liberty secure. . . .

In your youth, you joined the standard of three millions of people, raised in an unequal and uncertain conflict. In your advanced age, you return, and are met by ten millions of people, their descendants, whose hearts throng hither to greet your approach, and to rejoice in it.

This is not the movement of a turbulent populace, excited by the fresh laurels of some recent conqueror. It is a grave, moral, intellectual impulse. . . .

Accept then, Sir, in the sincere spirit in which it is offered, this simple tribute to your virtues.

Again, Sir, the citizens of Boston bid you welcome to the cradle of American independence, and to scenes consecrated with the blood shed by the earliest martyrs in its cause."

Lafayette replied:

"The emotions of gratitude and love which I have been accustomed to feel on my entering this city, have ever been mingled with a sense of religious reverence for the cradle of American, and, let us hope, it will be hereafter said, of universal liberty.

What must be, Sir, my feelings at the blessed moment, when, after so long an absence, I find myself again surrounded by the good citizens of Boston; where I am so affectionately, so honorably welcomed, not only by my old friends, but by several successive generations. Where I can witness the prosperity, the immense improvements, that have been the just reward of a noble struggle, virtuous morals, and truly republican institutions.

I beg of you all, beloved citizens of Boston, to accept the respectful and warm thanks of a heart, which has for nearly half a century, been particularly devoted to your illustrious city."

This speech was received with cries of "Welcome, welcome Lafayette! Friend of Washington! Friend of America! Friend of Liberty!"

An arch over Washington Street, bore a scroll with the well-known lines on it, ending with these words:

"We bow not the neck,
We bend not the knee,
But our hearts, Lafayette,
We surrender to thee."

Another motto near Liberty Tree read: "A republic not ungrateful," and one of the flags on Broad Street bore this inscription: "Receive the pledges that first associated Lafayette with the destinies of America." There is another incident, known to many, that might bear repetition: Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, the famous mathematician and author of the "Bowditch Navigator," by which seamen still direct their ships, while on his way to his office met the procession and ascended some steps to watch it pass. As soon as he saw Lafayette, he lost his self-possession, rushed into the street, and crowding as near the General's barouche as he could get, found himself yelling and cheering with the others. On the day of the General's arrival the deputy sheriffs closed their offices and joined the throng, one of them having placed this notice on his door:

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

PORTRAIT OF LAFAYETTE WHEN ABOUT TWENTY YEARS OF AGE, AS HE LOOKED AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR REVOLUTION

Artist is unknown, but was probably David. This painting is now in the Château de Beaufossé (Orne), France, and is owned by Madame de Corcelle, widow of Lafayette's great-grandson, who says it is a fine likeness of the General.

"Arrests in civil suits, postpon'd today,
Sacred to freedom, and to freedom's friend."

During the World War, Bostonians again had an opportunity to show their enthusiasm for the French on the occasion of the arrival of the six officers, Azan, De Rivièrs, Jarny, Giraudoux, Morize and Du Pont, who came to train the Harvard Regiment, the first French uniforms seen in the city for many a day. So crowded were the streets in the downtown section that the automobiles carrying the French officers could scarcely make their way to the Harvard Club.

One newspaper in these two lines describes Lafayette's first view of the State House on his drive from Roxbury:

"Now he sees the Boston dome,
Now he feels his heart at home."

After the reception at the Capitol the city authorities conducted their guest to his headquarters in the Thomas Amory house on the corner of Beacon and Park Streets. In the evening he attended a banquet at the Exchange Coffee House, at which were present the Governor, Mayor, City Council and other officials and important persons. Chief Justice Parker gave

a toast to the memory of Louis XVI, adding that "none of the friends of liberty should be forgotten, although they might have worn a crown."

Miss E. S. Quincy, a daughter of the Mayor, was present at many of the entertainments given for Lafayette and kept a very interesting diary, most of which we believe has never before been printed:

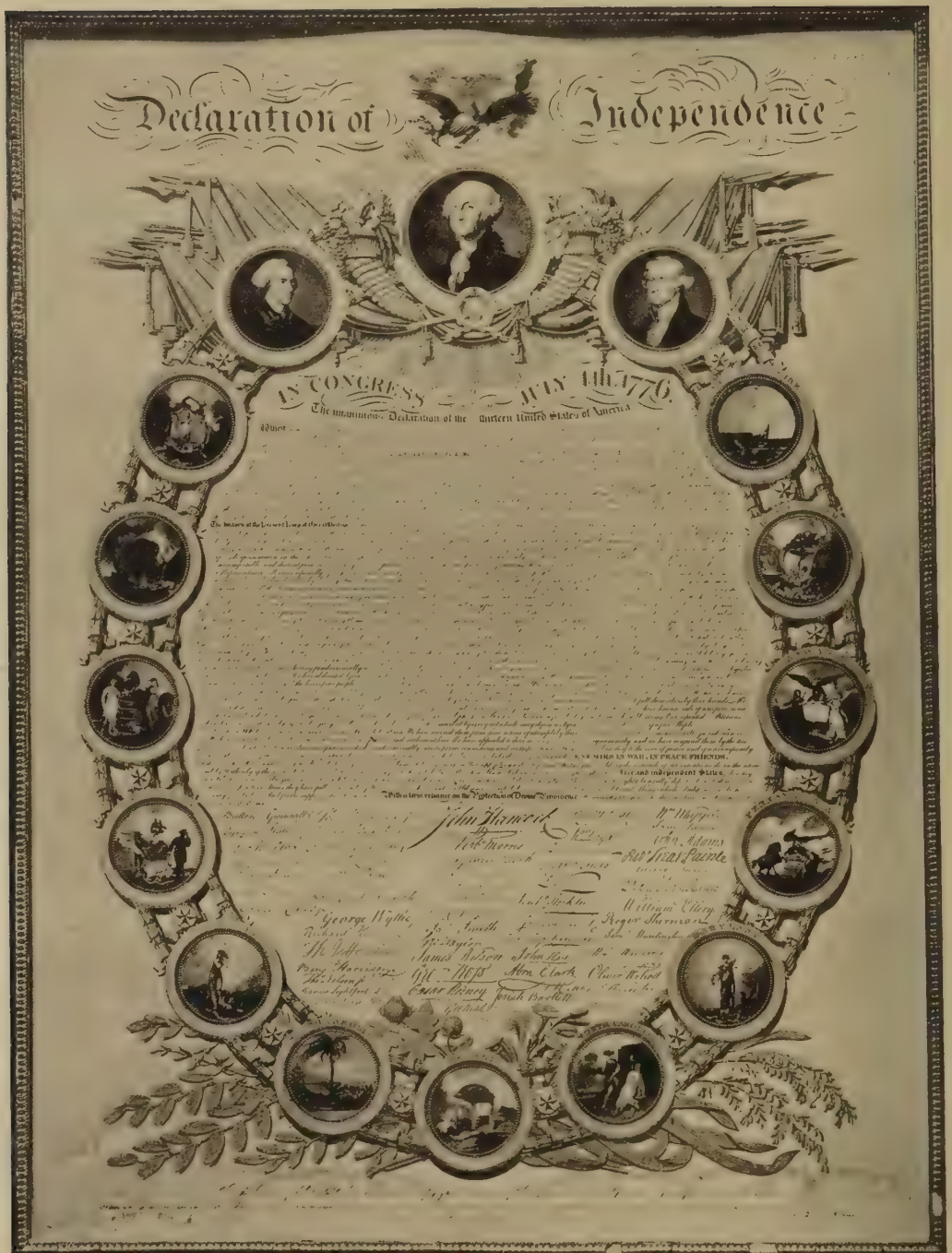
"At this time our family excepting my father and brothers were residing at Quincy but the arrival of La Fayette summoned us from the retirement of the country. On the evening of Sunday August 22nd I drove into Boston with one of my sisters. On arriving at our house in Hamilton Place, we found the drawing rooms crowded with the Committee of arrangements for the reception of La Fayette, all talking most vehemently, voice rising above voice, and the Mayor's above them all. We retreated to the dining room, but there in addition to the tumult upstairs, was my brother, reciting a Latin oration he was preparing to speak at Commencement, the next day.

. . . Early in the morning of Tuesday the 24th I went home for a short time to see my mother. Our family I found already in motion having in truth enjoyed but little rest, their repose during the night having been interrupted by three expresses. The first came to inform the Mayor that the General would not arrive till late the next day; the second to say that he was coming immediately and this again was shortly succeeded by a third announcing his actual arrival at the Governor's seat in Dorchester . . .

. . . Boston presented a most animated scene, crowds of people in their best dresses were already moving through the streets, the military manœuvring on the common and an immense cavalcade of citizens on horseback, among whom were two hundred truckmen dressed in their white frocks, who made a fine appearance. A barouche drawn by four white horses had previously been sent out to the Governor's seat for the General. At nine o'clock the procession moved and preceded by the City Authorities, who occupied a long train of carriages, the whole cavalcade advanced through Washington Street, and across the neck, to the lines of the city. Punctual to the appointed moment, they there met the General La Fayette, attended by his suite.

The Mayor then entered the barouche of the General, and the procession moved. At the moment La Fayette crossed the lines of the city, a signal was given, and a royal salute of one hundred and one guns was fired, every bell in the metropolis began to ring and the American standard was raised on the cupola of the State House and on Dorchester heights. La Fayette advanced amid the acclamations of thousands, and during his triumphal progress through Boston . . . every street, every window, every balcony and every roof near which he passed, presented one mass of human beings, animated by one feeling, engaged in one object, and uniting in one general sentiment of enthusiasm.

. . . During these scenes we were in our house in Hamilton Place, which was filled with company awaiting the arrival of the procession and occupied in watching the crowds in the streets and in listening to the sounds of salutation and welcome which pealed from every steeple, and thundered from the artillery on the common. The accumulated multitudes announced at length the approach of the procession and it appeared in the distant perspective advancing through Tremont Street, towards the spot where we were stationed. As it approached, the air resounded with military music, first came a body of cavalry—then a regiment of foot, headed by my brother, as lieutenant of the Boston Light Infantry and at last, beyond a long train of carriages, the barouche appeared and the General La Fayette was presented to our view,—in a moment . . . every eye was fixed, all attention concentrated on this extraordinary man, whose presence a nation came forth to hail. The General had requested my father to point out his family to him and the barouche now paused before our house. The scene at this moment was indeed indescribable, the multitudes extending as far as the eye could reach in every direction sent forth a shout which reechoed far and wide. La Fayette arose and bowed profoundly to Mrs. Quincy, the ladies saluted him from the windows by waiving their handkerchiefs, and the populace in the immediate vicinity—taking advantage of this cessation in his progress climbed upon the side of the barouche to shake hands with him. The procession then proceeded along Common Street and passing down Colonnade Row (the long balcony of which presented a most brilliant spectacle) it entered the Common where all the children of the schools, twenty-five hundred in number, were drawn up in two lines, each wearing on the breast a portrait of La Fayette stamped on white satin ribbon. One of the children lived up along La Fayette Mall on the Common, supposed to have been the daughter of Charles A. Ware and a relation of Robert Treat Paine, placed a wreath on the General's head and was lifted into his barouche and kissed by the Marquis, an event long remembered in the family. On his arrival at the State House, new salutes were fired and numerous introductions took place. La Fayette then appeared on the balcony of the State House where he was again hailed with reiterated acclamations.


Declaration of Independence
IN CONGRESS JULY 4th 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

ENGRAVING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

offered to Lafayette by a resolution of Congress in 1824. For years this hung in Lafayette's house, 8 Rue d'Anjou in Paris. It was exhibited at the Chicago Exposition in 1893 and is now in the possession of M. Xavier de Pusy.

. . . My father said that on this occasion La Fayette appeared to feel and enjoy everything to the utmost and yet like one too much accustomed to scenes of excitement, to be overcome by them and able to retain perfect composure and self possession—that, during the whole of their interesting progress through the city, the General held his hand and talked to him as an old friend in the most open and animated manner of all the past events which the occasion recalled. Notwithstanding the immense crowd which filled the streets, everything was so well arranged and conducted that the procession reached the State House precisely at one o'clock, the hour which had been previously appointed. . . .

General La Fayette told my father at dinner, that he should wish to visit his family when they left the table, and he dispatched a messenger to inform us of the General's intention. On our return from our ride, we received the message, and had only time to invite a few of our nearest relations and friends, to make a few preparations and light up our rooms when the shouts of the populace, announced the approach of our expected guest. At first we intended to close our windows, but we were obliged to throw them all open for the benefit of the multitude, which attended the General, and which continued to surround our house during his visit, completely filling Hamilton Place, and the adjacent streets. The crowd continued to hurra, until La Fayette disappeared from their view at the door and the next moment he entered our drawing room, leaning on my father's arm and followed by his son George W. La Fayette, M. Levasseur his secretary and Colonel Colden of New York. He is apparently past sixty years of age and moves with some difficulty in consequence of a wound received at the battle of the Brandywine in our Revolutionary War. In other respects he retains much of the animation and vigour of youth. His countenance is expressive of great benignity and benevolence of character and his address and appearance is simple and unassuming.

His reception by Mrs. Quincy was gracefully characteristic—but her words cannot be recalled. (Her friend Ellis Gray Loring, after the lapse of thirty years, said he accounted it one of the felicities of his life when he was present on this occasion and heard her appropriate welcome to La Fayette.)

After the company present had been introduced, La Fayette seated himself on the sofa beside Mrs. Quincy and conversed very pleasantly for half an hour, when he was interrupted by a Committee from Portsmouth who came to request him to visit their town."

On the 25th of the month, Lafayette attended Commencement at Harvard, where he was entertained afterwards by the University. Of this visit, really one of the chief objects of his journey to Boston at this time, Miss Quincy in her diary, already mentioned, has made this record:

"He paid the strictest attention to each of the speakers and whenever the tenor of an oration showed that a compliment was about to be paid to himself, he had a conscious apprehensive, yet pleased expression of countenance which seemed to say 'now it is coming.' My brother took his second degree and spoke the valedictory Latin oration. During the performances I had observed that whenever a compliment was paid to La Fayette, my father who was seated near him on the stage involuntarily leaned forward to see how he bore it, and to sympathise with him. The moment my brother came forward to speak, I was not a little amused to see La Fayette return the compliment by turning round to look at my father and to see how he took it."

Josiah Quincy in his account of the proceedings refers to his speech, which of course was in Latin:

"I had drifted among the heroes of the Revolution, and suddenly turned to the General with my 'In te quoque, La Fayette!'—and then what an uproar drowned the rest of the sentence!"

Quincy said it reminded him of Edmund Kean, who, after his first performance of Shylock at Drury Lane, said, "Why, sir, do you know, the pit rose at me!"

On Commencement Day the banks of Boston in those days used to be closed and business was practically suspended. The next day, the 26th, Lafayette attended a meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Cambridge. While there someone told him that he spoke the English language remarkably well. "And why should I not," was the quick rejoinder, "being an American just returned from a long visit to Europe?" The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati gave the General a dinner, the President making a splendid address. Miss Quincy goes on to say:

"This morning (Friday the 27th) I employed a few hours of leisure in copying for the General my drawing of President Adams' house at Quincy, with a distant view of Boston, the State house and Dorchester Heights, decorated with the American standards in honor of his visit. (This picture was once at Lagrange). At ten o'clock my father set off to accompany La Fayette to Charlestown and Bunker Hill; and in the course of the morning my mother called for Mrs. Ticknor and myself in our carriage, and we drove through the North part of the city, and to Charlestown to see the decorations and inscriptions . . . When my father returned from Bunker Hill he gave me a curious relic of the battle, a button which had been worn by one of the British soldiers of the 65th regiment on the 17th of June, 1775. It had apparently been broken, or shot off, and after remaining on the battlefield for nearly half a century, was found with several others by a gentleman of Charlestown, who gave one of them to La Fayette, and another to my father. . . .

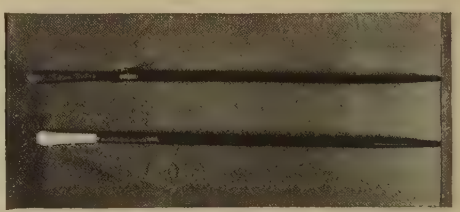
In the afternoon (Friday) I proceeded with my drawing and in the evening went to a splendid ball given by Mrs. Sears, in compliments to the General and other strangers in the city. At all these parties and indeed during the whole of La Fayette's visit, the ladies wore in compliment to him his picture engraved on white satin ribbon, tied round the arm or fastened to some part of the dress; and some by way of variety had it stamped on their gloves. . . ."

On the 27th a visit was made to the Navy Yard, where Commodore Bainbridge was on hand to receive them, after which Bunker Hill was visited, where lunch was served. Later in the day he again visited the State House, Faneuil Hall, South Boston and other places of interest. Lafayette promised he would return the following June to help lay the corner-stone of the monument.

On the 28th he was invited by the Governor to visit the camp at Savin Hill, where, to the surprise of the artillery men and the spectators, he distinguished himself by firing a shot which knocked the target to pieces. While there Levasseur noticed that the guns were made on the French models, and on close examination learned that they had been perfected by Henry Lallemand, who was forced in 1815 to seek refuge in this country. After leaving Savin Hill, the Governor took the Frenchman home for dinner, after which they attended a splendid ball given by Mr. Lloyd at his house in Somerset Street. On Saturday afternoon he visited Governor Brooks in Medford.

On Sunday, the 29th, Lafayette said he wished to attend the Brattle Street Meeting-House and sit in Governor Hancock's pew, declaring, "There I used to attend the services of my good friend, Dr. Cooper, and I should feel strange in any other place of worship." On this day he heard preach the Rev. John G. Palfrey. In the afternoon, the Marquis broke the laws and drove to Quincy to dine with John Adams, Levasseur thus describing their visit:

"We arrived about two o'clock at Quincy. Our carriages stopped at the door of a very simple small house, built of wood and brick, and but one story high. I was somewhat astonished to learn that this was the residence of an Ex-President of the United States. We found the venerable John Adams in the midst of his family. He received and welcomed us with touching kindness: the sight of his ancient friend imparted a pleasure and satisfaction, which appeared to renew his youth. During the whole of dinner time, he kept up the conversation with an ease and readiness of memory, which made us forget his 89 years."



Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

CANES PRESENTED TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE

The cane (shown above) with the dark handle and the little piece of cord is the original. It bears the following inscriptions on the two silver rings just below the cord: 1st ring—City of Boston North Street Augt 24, 1824; 2nd ring—Presented to Genl. LaFayette by a full blooded Yankee, as a token of respect for services rendered America, in her struggles for Independence. The second cane (below) with the white handle, is a duplicate of the first, and bears the following inscriptions: 1st ring—Duplicate presented June 17, 1825, Bunker Hill; 2nd ring—Presented to General LaFayette, City of Boston, August 24, 1824, by a full blooded Yankee, ... the remaining words being the same as on the other cane. The cane with the dark handle and cord shows many signs of wear, but the one with the white handle seems never to have been used.

Miss Quincy's diary thus describes this interesting visit:

"Sunday 29th . . . I rose very early and drove to Quincy with my mother and sisters. La Fayette was to dine that day with President Adams and as my father said he should invite him to call at our farm, we wished to be at home there to receive him. . . .

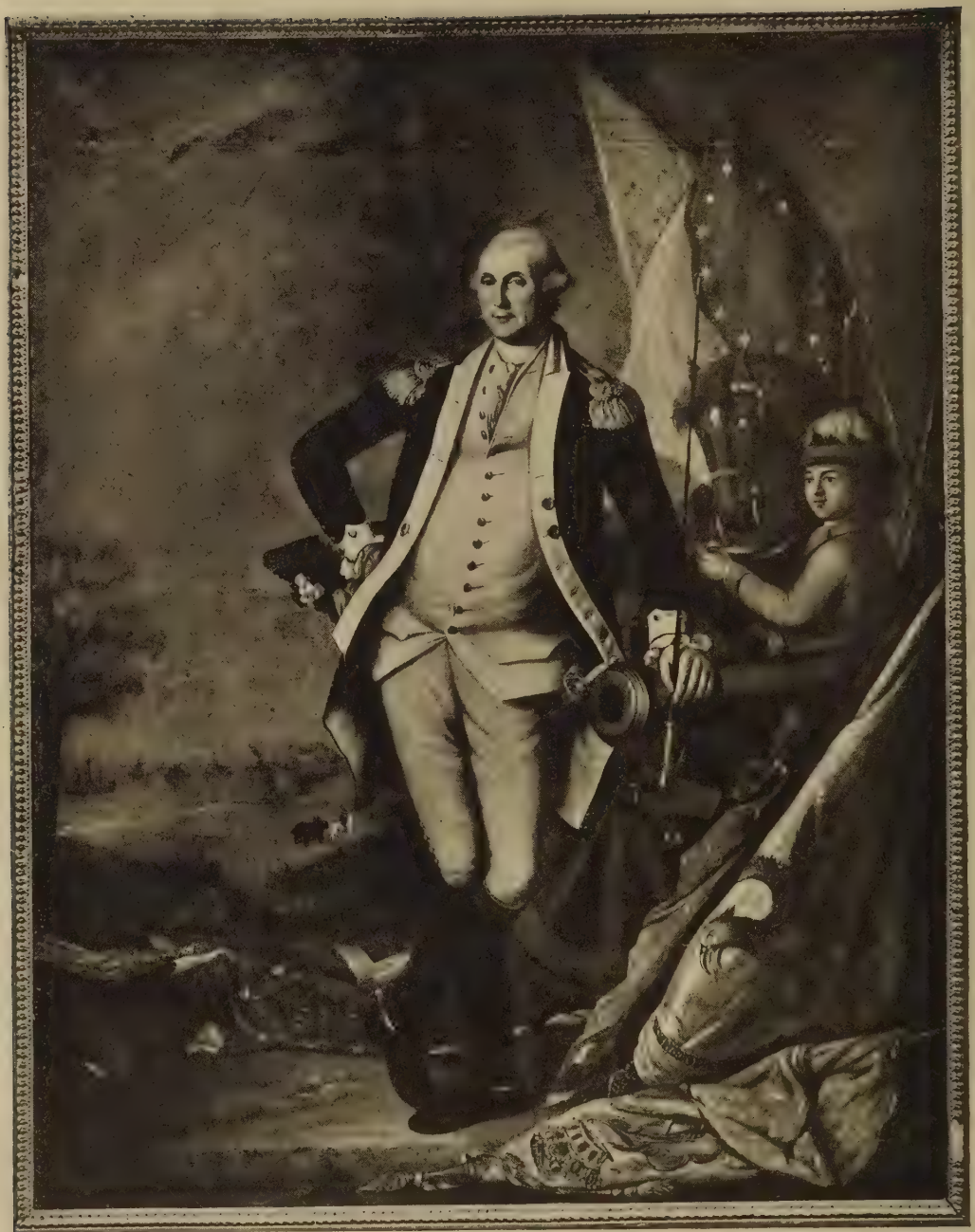
My mother and sisters went to church in the village and soon after their return, about twelve o'clock, the carriages containing the General and his suite appeared driving down the avenue. It was a most delightful day, the place and the view looked most beautiful. My brothers had both come home, all our family had assembled and our neighbours and tenants had collected at our house to see the General. Of course every one was now occupied in watching the progress of the equipages which were now seen rapidly approaching. La Fayette entered the house leaning on my father and followed by his son, Mr. Levasseur, and Col. Colden. My mother received him at the door and my father told him he must allow him again to introduce him to his family who were all assembled to welcome him to their paternal mansion. After our respective salutations had been paid and the General had in his usual affectionate manner taken each by the hand, my mother led him into the dining room and introduced him to her mother and my aunt, Mrs. Storer, the former eighty-six, the latter eighty-nine years of age. They were both highly gratified and pleased and at the same time much affected for to them the sight of La Fayette recalled the trials and sufferings they had passed through in the Revolution. The General said he knew my great grandfather, Josiah Quincy, and that he remembered being at our house during the revolutionary war. My mother showed him the place where the French fleet lay in the harbour, he admired the view, and she then took him into the front parlour where our neighbours and tenants were introduced . . . La Fayette received them all very kindly and when my mother pointed out the badges they wore with his picture, said with his usual graciousness 'I am very much obliged to you.' The General and his attendants then departed after a delightful visit of half an hour. . . ."

In the evening supper was served at the Ticknors'. On Monday, the 30th, a grand review of over eight thousand troops was held on the Common, ending with a sham battle and a luncheon attended by over twelve hundred people. On the table were fragments of war material picked up after the battle of Bunker Hill, and the General took several pieces home as souvenirs. A reception in his rooms followed and then a ball at W. H. Elliot's, managed by Mr. Quincy. One of the rooms was ornamented by the General's portrait. Of these last few days of his visit Miss Quincy relates:

". . . During this visit short as it was I had more conversation with Washington La Fayette than I had ever had before. His appearance and manners are not prepossessing but he improves on acquaintance and my father who has seen more of him than almost any one else thinks he is not justly appreciated by people in general. Wherever he goes, everyone is so occupied with his father that they have little or no attention to bestow upon him. He told my mother today that he was really so affected by the scenes he witnessed and the manner in which he saw his father received, that he was forced continually to make great efforts to command his feelings. He talked to me of our situation, inquired if I liked the country and then said, 'this place I am told bears your name, in France we should say you were lords of Quincy;—does your father own the whole town?' I was much amused by this speech and told W. La Fayette in reply 'that he had forgotten he was now in a republican country where all were on an equality and that as for our possessions, they were restricted to a single farm.'

On meeting Governor Eustis he began to compliment Mrs. Quincy on her son's performance on Commencement Day. My father came up at that instant and asked what they were saying, my mother replied, 'the Governor is complimenting the mother at the expense of the wife, he says your son speaks better than you did at his age.' 'Yes,' said the Governor, 'he does—but your father surpassed you both. . . .'

When at Quincy visiting John Adams we told my father that all the people on Milton Hill were expecting the General and they decided it was time to depart. La Fayette then took leave of President Adams and we stood by and witnessed the parting which was a very affecting and interesting scene. Just as La Fayette was leaving the apartment, he turned and seeing me standing in the crowd near the door of the room, he said: 'I do not bid you farewell, Miss Quincy, for I shall see you again tonight at Mr. Ticknor's.' My surprise was indeed great to hear this speech and to find that in the midst of this scene, La Fayette could find time to recollect where I was staying in Boston and that he should see me again.



Photographed by Giraudon, Paris, from a painting *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

GENERAL WASHINGTON IN CAMP, PROBABLY DONE BY TRUMBULL

The French and American flags float over his tent. This picture was painted especially for Lafayette in fulfillment of a promise made by Washington during the operations at Newport. For a long time this portrait hung in a place of honor in the salon at Lagrange. It was shown at the Chicago Exposition in 1893 and is now in possession of M. Xavier de Pusy, the great-great-grandson of Lafayette, descended through the third daughter of George Washington Lafayette. A copy of this picture was given by Washington to Rochambeau. It now hangs in the historic château of the good Maréchal in the very room where he died.

. . . I went to Mr. Ticknor's where the party were already beginning to assemble. At half past eight the General and his suite entered and soon after the folding doors opened and an elegant supper appeared in the next apartment. The table was very handsomely decorated and by an arrangement of Mr. Wallenstein's a likeness of La Fayette engraved on red paper was placed under the glass beside each plate.

As we seated ourselves at the table everyone excepting the General and his attendants took up the picture and fastened it to some part of their dress. La Fayette looked round and bowing to the company said with his usual gracious manner and expression of countenance 'You are all very good to me—I am very much obliged to you.' According to the most approved style of arranging a supper party, the master and mistress of the house were seated opposite each other in the centre of the table. La Fayette was at Mrs. Ticknor's right hand and I had the honor of being stationed on the other side of him. At first I thought I was out of my place but finding the elder ladies of the party were on the opposite side of the table I became reconciled to my distinguished situation. Opposite sat Mr. Ticknor with Mrs. Quincy at his right hand—Mr. and Mrs. Webster and Mr. and Mrs. W. Prescott. . . .

. . . In the course of the conversation something was said about the French cockade. My mother said to La Fayette 'the American cockade in the Revolution was black and white, was it not, General?' 'It was black at first' he replied 'but when the French army came over and joined us, we added the white in compliment to them.'—This characteristic speech was uttered with the most perfect ease and simplicity of countenance and manner.

This being the last day of La Fayette's visit, it was proposed that he should hold a levee in the evening at the house at the corner of Park Place which the city had appropriated for his residence, that all the members of the city government and the citizens in general might have an opportunity of introducing their families to him. . . ."

And so ended a crowded week. Fortunately the weather was perfect, differing from the weather usually experienced during the war by foreigners on their visits to Boston.

The minutes of the Boston Board of Aldermen under July 15, 1824, record that the city obtain "a full length likeness of this our invaluable friend and benefactor Lafayette." Under date of October 3d the Mayor reported that Lafayette had written to him that it would be impossible to comply with the request, but "after his return to France should it be desired he would with great pleasure obey the wishes of the City Council." For some reason the request was not followed up and no portrait was ever received by the city. Possibly the city authorities might care to carry out this vote of the City Council in the same way that the State many years later carried out the vote authorizing the memorial to St. Sauveur in King's Chapel, an event which we will describe in another booklet.

On the last day of August General Lafayette left Boston for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and as he passed the city boundary at Charles River Bridge he requested the Mayor to assure the citizens of Boston that in the earlier part of his life, he had more than once received the most flattering evidences of the kind sentiments of the citizens of Boston towards him; that it was impossible for him to do justice to his emotions at the distinguished manner in which he had now been received and welcomed by them; and he requested the Mayor to assure the citizens of Boston that their kindness to him was associated with his most precious recollections and that he reciprocated all their good wishes and kind expressions of respect and regard.

The party stopped a few minutes at Lexington and a longer time at Concord, where Lafayette had to alight and take a seat in the public square, surrounded by the inhabitants of the village. A procession escorted him through Lynn to the boundary line of Marblehead, for the General was anxious to see this town on account of its achievements during the war. Great preparations were made to receive him there, although it was known that he was only to be there for breakfast. Here he met the pilot who landed him in Marblehead on a previous visit to that town. At Salem Judge Story escorted him through the town, after which he went

Photographed for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

RARE ALLEGORY OF LAFAYETTE

representing the Marquis on the deck of the boat which brought him back to France after his last visit to America. The gods are shown driving away the unfavorable winds. Washington, Franklin and other Americans are accompanying him either in spirit or in a dream. The prostrate figure is that of an Indian. The photograph was obtained by Paul F. Cadman on his visit to Lagrange.

to the Lafayette Coffee House on Essex Street, and later to a dinner in Hamilton Hall. In Winter Street an arch bore this inscription on a piece of duck made in William Gray's factory in Salem:

"While winds shall blow, and seas shall roll,
While aught remains that's good and great,
Our Native Duck from pole to pole,
Shall waft the fame of La Fayette."

He had visited Salem in 1784, stopping at Newhall's tavern in Lynn on the way. On this visit he took tea at the Cabot house, on Essex Street, and attended a banquet in Concert Hall, then on Market and Fish Streets. Lafayette had with him the captain of the frigate "La Nymphe." When he left Salem the citizens served as an escort and galloped alongside of the carriage for nine miles in a heavy rain; the escort could not be persuaded by the Marquis to disband. At Beverly, Hon. Robert Rantoul, known as "Squire," was ready to receive his guest, who waited only long enough to hear a speech of welcome and to make one in reply. A heavy rain came up just at this time and the old janitor of the bank opposite which the

procession stopped, held an umbrella over Mr. Rantoul, while a friend of his protected the General in a similar manner. The bank building was the home built by John Cabot, on Cabot Street in 1781, and is now occupied by the Beverly Historical Society. In the early part of the evening of the 31st he reached Ipswich where he alighted from his carriage to receive the ladies and gentlemen of this attractive town, unfortunately, in a hard rain storm. His arrival was very late and hour after hour went by and still the military waited drawn up in line and the Reception Committee at its post. When he did reach the town about seven o'clock it was pouring so hard that Lafayette suggested that the cavalrymen be dismissed at once, which was done. He was then addressed by Nathaniel Lord, Jr., in the meeting house, and then conducted to the Ipswich Hotel kept by Moses Treadwell, now known as the Agawam House and situated on the hill opposite the North Meeting House. Here he was welcomed and entertained by the town committee. While there he met Colonel Nathaniel Wade, whom Lafayette immediately recognized and in grasping his hand said, "My Dear Sir, I am rejoiced to see you, it is just such a stormy night as we had when I met you on Rhode Island." A collation ended the festivities and the inhabitants bade their guest adieu on his way to Rowley, Newbury Old Town, and thence to Newburyport.

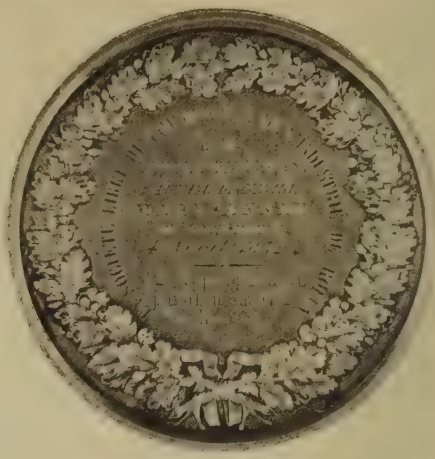
The inhabitants, in town meeting, had previously voted:

"that the citizens of Newburyport warmly participate in the sentiment of joy which pervades the whole nation on the occasion of the arrival of General La Fayette in the United States; and that they are desirous of evincing their high respect for the brave soldier who devoted his person and fortune to our country's cause and their gratitude to the early, zealous and constant Friend of Liberty and of America."

Rockets, bells and salutes announced his late arrival in this town; he was escorted by the Washington Light Infantry and the Newburyport Artillery. He was conducted up beautiful High Street to State Street, where an arch had been erected upon which was the motto "The Hero of Two Continents;" then to the Tracy house, now the Public Library, but owned at that time by James Prince. He insisted upon sleeping in the same bed occupied by Washington in 1789. Although late at night Lafayette was obliged to hold a reception for the many persons who insisted upon greeting him, and still later in the evening Hon. Ebenezer Moseley made him an address of welcome at his lodgings where dinner was also served. In the morning many citizens and Revolutionary soldiers called on the visitor, including Daniel Foster, the only man in the town who had belonged to the General's corps of Light Infantry. This Continental officer held the sword which his superior officer had given him in common with the other officers of this command. The procession to be held on the following morning was given up on account of the bad weather, but it is claimed that the children of the town were so disappointed that they insisted upon parading on the next day, September 2d, although the Marquis did not return to Newburyport from Portsmouth until midnight, too late to witness it.

On the way to Portsmouth the Marquis passed through Hampton Falls, where the Portsmouth Committee met him and conducted him over the highway now called the Lafayette Road, which extends from Salisbury to Portsmouth. A procession of nearly two miles followed him into the town and on passing Wilbirds Hill, a national salute was fired. Franklin Hall, where the smart Assemblies were held, was the first place visited and there Lafayette referred in a speech to his previous visit and the growth of the town since that time. He stayed at the attractive Warner house, still standing, on the corner of Chapel and Daniel Streets, opposite City Hall and near the Piscataqua River. This dwelling, which is now owned and occupied by Miss Sherborne, is one of the oldest and quaintest "mansions" in Portsmouth;

Photographed by the Kimball Studio



Kindness of Otis G. Hammond of the New Hampshire Historical Society, William E. Marvin, William G. Billings, E. C. Matthews, Jr., and G. Ralph Laighton

SILVER MEDAL NOW IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CONCORD, PRESENTED BY THE CITY OF ROUEN, FRANCE, TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL BILLINGS OF PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, ON APRIL 4, 1852. WHEN HE SAILED THE "MARY ANNAH" UP THE RIVER SEINE AS FAR AS THIS FRENCH CITY, A FEAT NEVER BEFORE ACCOMPLISHED

The city of Rouen also gave him a model of his vessel, now in the Portsmouth Historical Society. With the medal was an atlas, presented by the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen and now in the possession of his grandson, William G. Billings. The above illustrations show both sides of the medal.

it was finished as early as 1723. Its bull's eye glass over the door and around the cupola furnish some idea of the attractions to be seen inside. At a banquet held in this house the idea occurred to the Committee to procure some special napkins in honor of the Marquis and Boston was ransacked to find some that were suitable. One of these samples is now in the Portsmouth Historical Society. In the building occupied by this society, the residence of John Paul Jones while he was fitting out the "Ranger," is also a model of the bark "Mary Annah" of Portsmouth, commanded by Captain Billings, the first large ship to sail up the River Seine as far as Rouen. This French city did the Portsmouthite high honors, presenting him with this model; a silver medal now in the New Hampshire Historical Society in Concord, and also an atlas now in the possession of his grandson William G. Billings and inscribed: "Offert par la Chambre de Commerce de Rouen au Capitaine Samuel Billings . . . a l'occasion de son voyage . . . le 4 Avril, 1852." In the Portsmouth Athenæum is another model, in ivory, of the French frigate "Clovis," of the time of Louis XVI, built by a French prisoner of war and brought to the town by a Portsmouth captain. Just above the old Warner house on Chapel Street is St. John's Church, formerly called Queen's Chapel, which contains a French relic of interest —a bell brought by Sir William Pepperell as a souvenir from Louisburg. When this church was destroyed by fire in 1806 it was recast by Paul Revere, who was of French descent, and replaced in the present new building. This church still preserves in the hallway four curious huge stoves used in the early days to heat the church and usually referred to as hippopotami.

An elderly merchant of the town recently related the following anecdote concerning Lafayette during his stay in Portsmouth:

"The visit of La Fayette was coincident with the opening for public travel of the Portsmouth Bridge across the Piscataqua River. The General, under proper escort, was taken to inspect this important structure, which was lined with enthusiastic citizens for that event. The draw bridge, then as now, was suspended by chains and was stable enough for the ox drawn vehicles of the period but was subject to marked vibrations when negotiated at a high rate of speed. On the occasion it was a matter of pride to the driver of the four horse coach to exhibit the celerity with which the river could be crossed. Accordingly as the equipage dashed over the draw, the Nation's honored guest was bounced from his seat in a most emphatic and undignified manner. However, he seemed to regard this abrupt jolt as merely an incident of the numerous attentions showered upon him and graciously took off his hat, bowing right and left to the people on either hand."

Many French warships came into Portsmouth harbour in August of 1782 and it is related that the officers were so industrious that they took their knitting on shore to their boarding houses and presented the results of their labors, usually in the shape of gloves, to the ladies of the town. The costume of the sailors was white and it is related that, lacking the necessary white powder, they were wont to roll over and over in a large meal chest that was in the attic of the Stavers House on Court Street, in order to clean their uniforms. Admiral de Vaudreuil was there himself and was received with many marks of distinction. It is said that during the stay of the fleet a man while rowing from Little Harbour chanced to fall upon a duel between two Frenchmen, described by Shillaber in several verses, one of which reads:

"Most lovely the spot, yet dark was the tale
That made the red lips of boyhood pale,
Of the Frenchman's doom and the bitter strife,
Of the blood-stained sword and the gleaming knife,
Of the gory rock set the wrong to speak,
In Frenchman's Lane, up by Islington Creek."

Historians have pointed out that the year of the duel was 1778, which does not coincide with the time of the arrival of the fleet, but it is possible that some of d'Estaing's ships put into port there on the earlier date.

This creek was a favorite place of resort for the French and of course the natives declared that they chose this place on account of the multitude of frogs nearby, the real reason being the abundance of water for washing their clothes. Portsmouthites also narrate that the French used some large kettles in which an assortment of birds, fish, meat and frogs was boiled into a delicious soup. It is a tradition that the slain Frenchman was buried in the North Cemetery and that his compatriots who died while in the harbour were interred upon the southwest point of Shapley's, now Marvin's Island, the first island over the toll-bridge en route to New Castle. This explains why this locality is called Frenchman's Point.

A dinner in Jefferson Hall and later a banquet in Franklin Hall brought an end to Portsmouth's entertainment of Lafayette. He left the city about midnight, arriving in Boston at seven o'clock the following morning, September 2d. It seems impossible to believe that he could have made this long journey by carriage into New Hampshire and back to Boston in a few hours over two days, yet such was the case. Everyone at that time spoke of the lightning rapidity of his travels through the States but today these distances, with the advent of the automobile, would seem short.

The Marquis spent only a few hours in Boston on this visit, really his eighth, but as he was on his way through the city bound for New York we have not counted it as a visit. He did, however, find time to meet some Revolutionary officers and to receive a snuff box made from one of the timbers of "Old Ironsides." The City Council gave him a banquet at his residence on Park Street and he then made a farewell visit to the Governor, accompanied by

Kindness of Mr. Wallace Hackett

THE BEAUTIFUL WARNER HOUSE IN PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,

on the corner of Chapel and Daniel Streets, near the Piscataqua River, where Lafayette stayed on his 1824 tour. It is one of the oldest and quaintest "mansions" in the city, having been built as early as 1723. Here a banquet was given to the distinguished visitor.

the Mayor. When Mayor Quincy went to receive him he took with him the drawing done by his daughter which has already been referred to and with it this letter:

"Miss Quincy requests General La Fayette to honor by his acceptance the inclosed sketch of the residence of his ancient friend President Adams in the town of Quincy; . . . and with a distant view of the city of Boston as it appeared on the 24th of August, 1824 . . . when it was the happiness of the citizens of Massachusetts to welcome General La Fayette's return by raising the American standard on the summit of their Capitol and on the heights of Dorchester."

In replying to these and other letters Lafayette often used a seal representing the head of George Washington, said to be a fine likeness.

On the afternoon of September 2d, Lafayette left the city by way of West Cambridge to Lexington, and then to Concord, where after being received with a salute of twenty-four guns, he was addressed by Samuel Hoar. Here for the first time on his journey members

of the fair sex were included at one of the luncheons in his honour. On this day Ralph Waldo Emerson, then about twenty years of age, witnessed the arrival of the French General and the subsequent celebration in the Town Square from the steps of the First Parish Church. The *Concord Gazette* refers amusingly to a Yankee urchin who after running a long way, inquired of a passer-by if the Markiss was going to dine near there. The person accosted said that Lafayette carried his dinner of bread and cheese in his pocket. The youngster thought a moment and replied, "I guess a General ayn't going to dine on bread and cheese neither," and with that rejoinder again ran on to the supposed destination.

At Bolton, Lafayette stayed with S. V. S. Wilder, who has written a record of his visit. Mr. Wilder knew the Marquis before as he had visited him at Lagrange. By arrangement with Mayor Quincy, of Boston, the necessary plans were agreed to in this letter of Mr. Wilder's:

"The General and his suite will be conducted from Boston in the City Carriage to Concord; from whence I shall have the honor to conduct him to my house on Thursday ève; and from thence, on Friday morning, to Worcester where, I trust, you will make the necessary arrangements for his reception, and have carriages and relays of horses prepared to conduct him in ample season on Friday to within ten miles of Hartford, so that he can make his entry early the next morning into that city."

The General arrived at Bolton on time to find the Wilder estate beautifully illuminated with a candle in every windowpane. A military company was organized for this occasion, called the Bolton Guards and they camped all night near the premises. The General suggested that they be called the Lafayette Guards, a name that was retained. There was an early reception that night at the Wilder house. The road in the morning lay through Lancaster, admired greatly by Lafayette, Sterling and West Boylston, to Worcester, where Judge Levi Lincoln acted as Chairman of the committee to receive him. An arch in Lancaster bore this inscription:

"Welcome La Fayette
The American Eagle shall triumph and wave
Its pinions of glory to welcome the brave."

He was also welcomed there by Rev. Dr. Thayer.

At Sterling the following words on an arch greeted him:

"Welcome to La Fayette,
America's adopted son,
Brother and friend of Washington.
Our land in trouble found a friend in thee
We will never forget thee in prosperity."

On entering Worcester many gray-haired soldiers seeming to forget their infirmities, crowded up to his coach-and-four to speak to him while near the Worcester Bank (now called the Worcester Bank & Trust Company). Over the street appeared these historic words: "Hitherto I have only cherished your cause, now I go to serve it." Breakfast was served at the Lincoln mansion. The Worcester Bank & Trust Company in its attractive pamphlet, among other historic events of the city, gives an excellent account of Lafayette's reception there and adds that gifts were offered to him on his tour, varying from a handsomely equipped carriage to a pair of tame geese.

Hartford was reached on September 4th, by way of Charlton, Sturbridge and Tolland. Levasseur mentions that the population of Hartford at that time was only four thousand seven hundred twenty-six persons. Lafayette was received there by Governor Wolcott in the State House and after the speeches General Wadsworth appeared bearing the epaulets

From a photograph *Kindness of L. Loring Brooks*

THE LAFAYETTE ROOM AT THE WAYSIDE INN, SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS,

now the property of Mr. Henry Ford. Tradition says this room was occupied by the General during his stay at the Inn at the time he visited Boston to lay the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument.

and a red silk sash worn by the Marquis at Brandywine, the latter still showing the marks of blood from his wound. Lafayette had given them to General Heman Swift after the peace and the family still preserved them. After leaving the State House eight hundred school children, wearing badges with "Nous vous aimons La Fayette" on them, presented him with a gold medal inscribed: "The Children of Hartford to La Fayette, September 4, 1824."

The next place visited was the deaf and dumb asylum, described by Levasseur in these touching words:

> "About sixty of these young unfortunates arranged in a line, awaited in the profound and eternal silence which the lamentable caprice of nature had imposed on them, for the arrival of Lafayette. As soon as they saw him, they pointed out to him, while placing their hands on their hearts, a legend containing these words, 'What the nation expresses we feel.' At their head was their teacher Mr. Clerc, pupil of Abbé Sicard and of Massieu."

Lafayette experienced lively pleasure in seeing this young Frenchman, whose love of liberty and of humanity had brought him to this country, where he had rendered the most important services. The General was delighted with the Connecticut River down which he went from Hartford to the attractive old-fashioned town of Middletown, now a city, where he was met

by a committee of thirteen. Through Saybrook he slept soundly in spite of the band of music over his head and cannon shots near by.

New York celebrated Lafayette's birthday a few days later with a banquet. Mt. Vernon was visited soon afterwards, but it is not a part of this chapter to describe the touching scenes as the French General and his son entered the house and later saw the tomb of the great Washington. On leaving the vault G. W. P. Custis, a nephew of the American General, presented Lafayette with a gold ring containing some of the hair of our leader in the Revolution. "I can only thank you, my dear Custis, for your precious gift. I pay a silent homage to the tomb of the greatest and best of men, my paternal friend." George Washington Lafayette was pleased to notice that the key of the Bastille, given by his father, was still carefully preserved. Of their departure Levasseur says:

"After resting a few moments, we resumed the path leading to the shore: our march was silent; each of us bore a branch of cypress, cut from over the tomb of Washington. We resembled a bereaved family, who had entombed a beloved father, recently dead. We were already on board our vessel—and the waves had borne us afar, and no one had interrupted our silent meditation. At last Mount Vernon disappeared behind the high and winding banks of the river; all then grouped themselves on the quarter deck of the steam-boat, and listened attentively till evening to Lafayette, who talked of Washington."

Although Lafayette never went to Nantucket, it is claimed by one authority that those of the island's residents who owned cows, agreed to save the proceeds of one day's milking in order to make a huge cheese weighing twenty-five hundred pounds, which was to be transmitted to the Marquis de Lafayette as a feeble, but not less sincere testimonial of their affection and gratitude. One distinguished Frenchman, Crevecoeur, did visit the island and referred to it in glowing terms. Another interesting connecting link with France is the importation of trees from Napoleon's grave that are flourishing on the island today. Slips from these trees are now flourishing in Tacoma, Washington. The Historical Society also has a wax figure of the "Dauphin" brought from Paris in 1786 by Captain Coffin.

As to the places named for Lafayette in this country, we find that twenty-nine cities and towns bear this name, while other places are called Fayette and Lagrange, to say nothing of the innumerable counties, rivers, ships, streets, hotels, garages, theaters, banks, motor companies, restaurants, musical marches, mountains, etc., which bear his name.

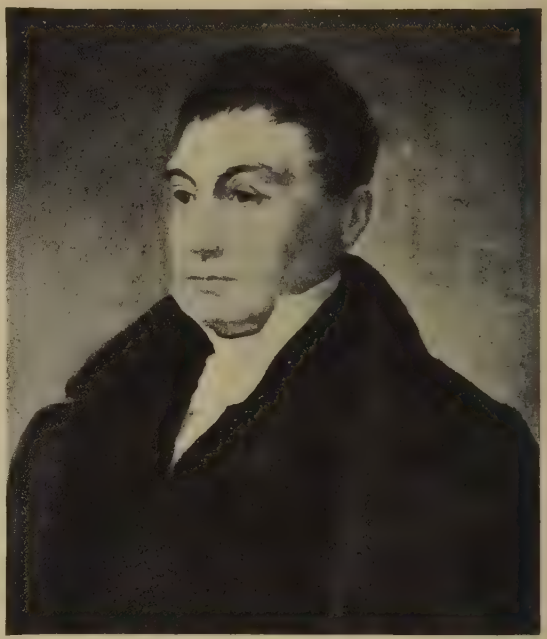
After a long and hurried trip through most of the other States of the Union outside of New England, Lafayette again turned his face towards Bunker Hill, where he was to assist in laying the corner stone of the monument on June 17, 1825, one hundred years ago, an anniversary that this volume commemorates. All doubts as to whether he would arrive in time were dispelled on receipt by Mayor Quincy of this letter from him dated June 12th. from Albany:

"Thus far I am come to redeem my sacred and most cordial pledge. We shall reach Boston on the 15th. I will tell you, between us, that I have been informed the legislature intend to receive my personal respects, in which case it becomes proper for me to be arrived two days before the Bunker Hill ceremony. As to what I am to do, I cannot do better than to refer myself to your friendly advice, —and shall hastily offer you and your family my most affectionate grateful respects."

Miss Quincy's diary gives a new and more intimate description of his arrival and last visit to Boston:

"On receiving this letter my father was immediately obliged although it was midnight to rise and go out in order to give it to the printers and have it published in the papers of the next morning. . . .

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon information came that General La Fayette had arrived at Mr. Lloyd's who had invited him to stay at his house during his visit to the city. We concluded the General would be too much fatigued to think of paying visits today, so we quietly went to repose ourselves, as we felt tired after the disturbance last night, and seeing company all the morning, but another express soon thundered at the door to say that General La Fayette would be at our house in twenty minutes. We all returned to the parlour and prepared for the reception of the General and at the appointed time he arrived, attended by his son, M. Levasseur, and Mr. Lloyd. La Fayette and the gentlemen of his party shook hands with us most cordially and really seemed highly delighted to see us again. They said we could not imagine how much pleasure they felt when they once more came in sight of Boston, that it seemed to them almost as if they were arriving at home. The General really looks younger than he did when he was here last Autumn and both he and his attendants have improved both in health and appearance by their tour through the United States. When we spoke of the remarkable expedition with which they had accomplished their journey, they replied 'Oh there is nothing surprising in that;—when people have carriages, horses, boats, all of the first order prepared for them and awaiting them at every step as we have had, they do not deserve any credit for travelling fast. . . .'



Photographed for the State Street Trust Company by George B. Brayton

Kindness of R. W. Frederick W. Hamilton, Grand Secretary, Masonic Temple, Boston

PAINTING OF LAFAYETTE ON A PANEL IN THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF CORINTHIAN HALL IN THE MASONIC TEMPLE, BOSTON,

the usual meeting-room of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. It was painted on the wall of Sutton Hall, as the meeting-room of the Grand Lodge was then called, in an earlier Masonic Temple, which stood on the site of the present temple. The painting was executed and presented to the Grand Lodge by Brother Edwin T. Billings, of Montacute Lodge, Worcester. It shows Lafayette as he appeared on his last visit to Boston in 1825.

Mr. Lloyd told my mother he expected of course that the General would be fatigued by his journey and would wish to rest himself, at least until four o'clock which was their dinner hour but to his amazement the instant he arrived he told him that as soon as he had changed his dress, he wished before he dined to call on Mr. Quincy and Mr. Webster.

In the course of conversation, La Fayette spoke of his late journey with great delight and said 'although I have travelled so many thousand miles since I left Boston, I have scarcely been able to reach the frontier of your extensive territory; however, I did at last contrive to catch a glimpse of it on the Niagara.' He then spoke of 'the Falls,' and said their sublimity and beauty far surpassed his expectations 'but' continued La Fayette 'I did not view them from Table Rock—I went to Goat Island, but I would not cross to Canada. *I was faithful to the American side!* When I went down to Fort Niagara, they fired such a salute that the British on the other bank of the river, not knowing the cause, thought there was another declaration of war.'

Thursday 16th. In the morning I went with one of my sisters and some of our friends to the State House and saw the reception of La Fayette by the Convention of the Legislature in the Hall of the House of Representatives, which was thronged with spectators. It was interesting to me to hear La Fayette speak in public, in reply to the Governor's address. Considering his age and his foreign accent he spoke very well and could be distinctly heard. His reply from which I shall give the following extract was marked by his accustomed readiness and characteristic sentiments.

'In my long and happy series of visits through the several parts of the Union, Bunker Hill has ever been my polar star; and I now rejoice to be arrived in time to join in the grand half century jubilee, with my companion in arms, as being together the representatives of the early and unshaken devotion of our revolutionary army—of the patriotic wishes of such as are still on his land—of the

From a photograph taken for the State Street Trust Company by George B. Brayton

Kindness of William A. Brade and George W. Chester, Superintendent, Masonic Temple, Boston

TROWEL USED BY LAFAYETTE AT THE TIME OF LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT AND NOW IN COLUMBIAN LODGE, MASONIC TEMPLE, BOSTON

dying prayers of those who are no more and permit me here, Sir, most deeply to mourn the recent loss of my two friends your respected predecessors, who had so heartily joined in the late welcome, I have had the happiness after a long absence to receive from the people of this State and in this beloved city of Boston, which I never enter without feeling the warmest emotions of affection and gratitude. . . .'

. . . In the afternoon of this day several companies of infantry from the neighbouring towns encamped on the common.

Friday 17th. This eventful day was welcomed by the roaring of cannon which awoke us from our slumbers at early dawn. Such were the sounds which aroused the Bostonians on the memorable seventeenth of June, 1775. . . .

. . . Mr. Wadsworth said he was in the carriage with La Fayette, when he entered Hartford and that while the General was describing the sufferings he underwent at Olmutz as they rode towards the town they came to a place where a crowd had collected to welcome him. His description was interrupted by the hurras which rent the air. La Fayette bowed to the populace and then turning to his companions said 'these are indeed the two extremes of human life' to which Mr. Wadsworth said he replied 'Yes, but they are extremes . . . that no mortal but you, Sir, has ever been permitted to behold.'

At length the report of cannon and the sound of military music announced the approach of the procession and the Infantry appeared at a distance on the brow of the hill, advancing to the music of one of our favourite national airs. The military escort crossed the hill in a line, towards the place where the cornerstone of the Monument was to be laid, followed by a great multitude of Free Masons in their singular dresses and bearing splendid banners and then came the rest of the procession. The cornerstone was laid on the other side of the hill, from the spot where we were stationed, we could not therefore see the ceremony, but we saw the multitude and heard the strains of soft music (a dirge to the memory of the departed) which floated towards us on the breezes that blew over the hill. This ceremony lasted an hour and then they all came forward and took their appointed seats. Beside us were the survivors of the battle, a company of venerable old men covered with badges, and attended with the greatest respect by young soldiers of the present day, whose brilliant uniforms and youthful appearance formed a most striking contrast with the veterans they were supporting. Opposite were the soldiers of the Revolution with La Fayette in the midst of them on an elevated seat. The orator of the day then ascended the stage, followed by the Governor and his suite, G. W. La Fayette, M. Levasseur, Gen. Lallemande and numerous strangers of distinction, etc. The Free Masons with their many colored dresses and their splendid banners glancing in the sunbeams were ranged on the side of the hill . . . beyond the Revolutionary soldiers, then came the military escort, and then the countless multitude spreading on every side. . . .

A solemn silence pervaded this vast assembly when the Rev. Mr. Thaxter, a venerable old man, the chaplain of Col. Prescott's regiment, who had here raised the prayer of supplication among the ranks of his countrymen,—on the 17th of June, 1775—advanced and after the lapse of half a century,—under such different circumstances—again raised his voice, now tremulous with age, to offer the thanksgiving of another generation. . . .

'Have you ever shaken hands with La Fayette' was a question often repeated.

This evening at half past eight we went to Mrs. Webster's who gave a great party on this occasion.

From a photograph taken for the Trust Company by George B. Brayton

Kindness of Frederick W. Hamilton, Grand Secretary. Masonic Temple, Boston, and Rev. R. Perry Bush, Librarian of Masonic Temple

APRON WORN BY LAFAYETTE AT THE TIME OF LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, ON JUNE 17TH, 1825

This apron is carefully preserved by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in Masonic Temple, Boston. The trowel used by the French General on this same occasion is one of the prize possessions of Columbian Lodge, whose quarters are in the same building.

A crowd had already assembled about Mr. Websters' residence in Summer Street, attracted by a fine band of music which was playing before it."

Israel Thorndike who lived next to the Websters' had a door cut between the two houses. It will be remembered that Thorndike was such an important ship merchant, it was said of him in Beverly that all he had to do was to send out a pebble on a shingle and it would bring him back a dollar.

By courtesy of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Massachusetts, we have collected some material not usually mentioned in connection with Lafayette and Bunker Hill. Records of the organization show that officers of the Grand Lodge assembled at Masonic Hall on the 17th of June and the following were appointed a committee to wait upon Lafayette, who had become a Mason probably in an army Lodge during the war, very probably at the suggestion of George Washington. Those chosen to meet him were Benjamin Russell, Francis I. Oliver, Samuel P. P. Fay, John Dixwell and Henry Purkitt. Lafayette was conducted to the Lodge and introduced to the members before the parade to Charlestown. The Proceedings of the Society then go on to describe the order of events:

"The Grand Master directed the Grand Marshal to form a procession to repair to the Common there to join the civil procession and proceed to Bunker Hill in Charlestown.

The Master Masons having assembled at Faneuil Hall, the Royal Arch Masons at Concert Hall and the Knights Templars at the Armory and refreshment Hall, the Grand Marshal assisted by R. W. Bro. William Ingalls and Samuel L. Knapp on horse back with twelve other Deputy Marshals on foot formed a Grand Masonic Procession.

. . . The Procession then moved to Charlestown and having arrived at the Square on which it was intended to erect the Monument, the whole was enclosed by the troops. Near the place intended for the Corner Stone was erected by the Fraternity a lofty triumphal Arch on which was inscribed the following 'The Arts pay homage to valor.' Through this Arch the whole body of Masons passed and took up a position on the right of the Square, the Grand Lodge in front. The President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association then requested the Grand Master to proceed and lay the corner-stone. The Grand Master, accompanied by the Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Grand Treasurer and Secretaries, Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Masters, and attended by the Grand Marshal, advanced to the place intended, where the President of the Association and R. W. Bro. La Fayette met them. The Grand Marshal by direction of the Grand Master, commanded silence to be observed during the ceremonies. The working tools were presented to the Grand Master who applied them to the stone and passed them to R. W. Bro. La Fayette and the President of the Association who severally applied them and then the Grand Master declared it to be 'well formed true and trusty.'

The Grand Master delivered the working tools to Bro. Alexander Paris, the Master Workman intrusting him with superintendence and direction of the work. The fraternity then moved to seats prepared on the North side of the Hill in front of which was erected an extensive semicircular building open in front."

The apron, shown in an illustration, used by General Lafayette during the ceremony of laying the corner stone is now in the library of the Grand Lodge in Masonic Temple. It

was worn fifty years later by Dr. Winslow Lewis at the occasion of the 1875 anniversary celebration. Also, on a panel in the wall of Corinthian Hall in Masonic Temple, the usual meeting place of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts is a likeness of Lafayette, painted and presented by Edwin T. Billings of Worcester. This Lodge also owns five wine glasses which were used when Lafayette was entertained in Concord, New Hampshire. The silver trowel, shown in another illustration, is now in the possession of Columbian Lodge. The simple pyramid over the remains of Warren and his companions, as seen by Lafayette on his first visit to Bunker Hill, had been taken down and from one of the timbers a cane was made and given to Lafayette by the Charlestown Lodge of King Solomon. A large excavation marked the spot upon which the present monument was to be erected.

From an old print in the collection of the State Street Trust Company — *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

A LAFAYETTE CANDLESTICK

that appeared in France shortly after the American Revolution.

Most Worshipful Brother Gallagher in an address in 1918 referred to a visit made by him to Lafayette's grave in Picpus Cemetery. "I decorated his grave and added a silk American flag. I then entered in the book of the concierge having charge of the cemetery that 'as General Lafayette had received his degrees in Freemasonry from General Washington in the Valley Forge Campaign of the Revolution, it was appropriate that a member of Lafayette Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts should place a tribute on his grave on Independence Day.' "

Boston was so thronged with people who had come in from the neighboring towns to see Lafayette that a stage driver, according to M. A. de Wolfe Howe in his excellent book on Boston, could only account for this condition by the remark, "Everything that has wheels and everything that has legs used them to get to Boston."

Another eye witness of the great 17th of June procession thus described the Common:

"The green, from the State House to the mall, was full of troops and spectators. The mall was covered with masons . . . and every street and habitation in the vicinity was crowded with a dense population. . . . A number of carriages approached in the avenue . . . The bugle, horns and drums resounded, and the whole band of music performed a salute as Lafayette, drawn in a barouche, with four white horses, and a number of cars carrying distinguished individuals and old soldiers of Bunker Hill passed along."

It is said that a friend of Webster's happened to go on a fishing trip with the eloquent orator on the morning before. Webster was rehearsing his speech and at the moment of hauling in a fish he had reached that part of his address "welcome to our shores" which on account of its appropriateness greatly amused his companion.

Here is the inscription written by Franklin Dexter, which was never set up owing to the fact that Daniel Webster believed no inscription necessary:

The corner-stone of this Monument was laid on the 17th of June 1825, by the hands of Major-General Lafayette, and in the presence of the survivors of the Battle, and on the 17th of June, 1843, it was finished, and dedicated with the prayers of an assembled multitude for the Perpetuity of the American Union.

There are, however, in the Lodge adjoining Bunker Hill the following words: "The corner

stone of Bunker Hill Monument was laid in the presence of Lafayette on June 17th, 1825 and an oration was then delivered by Daniel Webster."

Within the monument is a copy of Schefer's painting of Lafayette in the National House of Representatives, also a bust of President Carnot of the French Republic, an honorary member of the Monument Association.

It may be of interest also to mention that in 1850 M. Leon Foucault, a philosopher born in Paris in 1819, and two Harvard professors conducted a pendulum experiment, to show the movement of the earth, with a revolutionary shot inside the monument before it was entirely finished.

Lafayette remained in Boston five days after the Bunker Hill celebration. On the 20th the French visitors attended the theater, the orchestra playing the Lafayette March as he came in. In one act the tomb of Washington was shown and in another Lagrange was depicted, resembling almost exactly his French estate, according to the Marquis. He also attended a dinner given to him by the Mechanics Association.

On one of these last days he paid a farewell visit to his old friend, President John Adams, another day being reserved for visits from many other friends, and on the 22d of the month he set out on the last part of his five-thousand-mile tour of this country, passing through Andover and Methuen, Massachusetts; Pembroke, Concord, Bradford and Dover, New Hampshire; to Kennebunk, Saco, Biddeford, York and Portland, Maine.

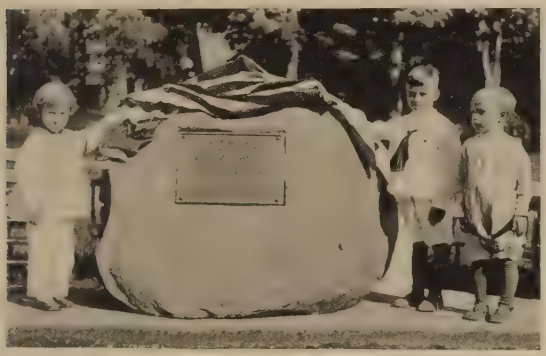
Continuing from the Quincy diary:

"La Fayette then entered the barouche which the Governor's aids had brought for him and drove off with Col. Quincy seated beside him. My brother's promotion has happened, just in time, to give him the honour of escorting the General. It is not a little singular that he should occupy the same place beside La Fayette on his final departure that his father did on his first entrance into Boston. La Fayette seemed much pleased at the prospect of having him for his companion, and amid the good wishes and parting salutation of his friends he bade a last adieu to the city of Boston. Wednesday 22d. About eleven o'clock this morning my brother returned home after a delightful excursion with the General. He said the road they travelled, even the Andover turnpike which passes through such an unsettled part of the country, was lined with people who had come from a great distance to catch a glimpse of La Fayette, as he passed. The General was obliged to drive the whole distance with his hat off and the barouche thrown open. At every town they were received with military honors and at Andover, not only the inhabitants of the town, but all the Professors and students of the Theological Institution, and the Academy were assembled. My brother said that as they entered Andover, he thought how improbable it would have appeared when he quitted this scene of his youthful avocations, had it then been predicted to him that at three and twenty, he should return as Col. Quincy escorting the Marquis de La Fayette."

When about to say good-bye to Mayor Quincy in Boston, Lafayette spoke of his splendid reception by the people of this country and expressed as his only regret the loss of his pet dog which was stolen during his passage up the Ohio River.

As to his visit to Concord, New Hampshire, the Public Library of that city has shown us a most interesting pamphlet containing "Recollections" of the Frenchman's visit written by A. A. Parker, who accompanied Lafayette through New Hampshire.

"My equipage," [wrote Mr. Parker], "consisted of three carriages—a barouche, drawn by four horses, a four-horse stage coach, and a two-horse covered carriage for baggage. The barouche was precisely the thing needful for the occasion. It was of ample dimensions, the driver's seat was elevated and detached from the body of the carriage, and that swung so low on leather braces that a person sitting down inside would be no higher than standing up outside. Very convenient, indeed, for shaking hands and presenting children. The carriages and relays of horses on the road had been provided by Mr. Nathaniel Walker, the regular stage-driver on the route from Boston to Concord, N.H."



Kindness of Miss Isabel Greeley

THE LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL TABLET ON THE VILLAGE GREEN, BRADFORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE

The boulder shown in this picture rests on the door-stone of Raymond Tavern where the General spent a night in June, 1825.

The Governor of Massachusetts decided to escort his visitor as far as Methuen; therefore, Mr. Parker had to drive on ahead, and on the way he took in beside him a Revolutionary soldier who begged to be taken to Concord.

"I was not aware of the dilemma I was in until we approached Malden. Then it was that I could see a great crowd in the village, the bells began to ring, cannons were fired, and bands of music cheered, and as we came near, could distinctly hear the shouts of 'Welcome Lafayette.' I then perceived that the multitude believed the soldier at my side was none other than Gen. Lafayette, and were bound to give him due honors. I therefore urged the driver to push his team into the midst of the crowd, so that I could undeceive them. With mingled emotions, hard to be described, I arose in the carriage and with great earnestness exclaimed, 'See that you do it not. The gentleman at my side is not Gen. Lafayette, but a soldier of the revolution. . . . His escort, (the Governor's), with Gen. Lafayette aboard, in all the pomp and circumstance of a triumph, will be here in about an hour. But as your patriotism is up, and this gentleman at my side no doubt is a worthy revolutionary soldier, give him three cheers if you please, as we pass on.' They did this with a will; the soldier arose, gave a soldier's salute, and we left. . . . In about an hour the General arrived at Methuen; and after a half-hour of handshaking and speeches, our carriages were at the door, all aboard, and we on our way. My soldier then took a seat in the stage coach and the General in the barouche with me. He laughed heartily at the dilemma I had been in and with a comical face said, 'As you have got your hand in, why not alternate me in speech-making on the remainder of the route?' "

Mr. Parker narrates that so many flowers and bouquets were thrown into the barouche that it was necessary to fling them out at solitary places where none could see them. About Derry Depot he says:

". . . as we came out to our carriage, an excited youth was ringing the meeting-house bell with all his might and at the same time gazing at the General; but as we passed on he could not keep the rope in hand and see the General. He dropped the rope and stood with lifted hands, intensely gazing. But the bell stopped. The General shook his sides and said: 'That boy thinks the bell is as enthusiastic as he is, and will keep on ringing while he is looking.' "

"We had travelled rapidly when not hindered; but our coming had been so well advertised by the well-known Walker, the stage-driver on the route, that it was known to all people. And so we were detained even at a single cottage. At the report of a musket or bugle blast, people would appear from their lounging places, where none were visible before. The halt and the lame were sitting in easy chairs before the cottage doors; at one an invalid old lady was brought by two men to the carriage; she seized the General's hand with both hers and with tearful eyes exclaimed 'Bless the Lord.' "

On Wednesday, the 22d of June, Concord was reached, where he was received officially at the State House.

"Many conventions," [says an eye-witness], "have been held in Concord. It has been honored by the visits of five Presidents of the United States—Washington, Munroe, Jackson, Polk and Grant; and it witnessed the great 'log cabin' display of 1840; but never was seen, on any other occasion, such a public display and deep-toned enthusiasm as attended the reception to Gen. Lafayette."

The visitor then went to Saco and Portland, returning to Northwood and Concord, New Hampshire. In the latter place he was welcomed by the twelve-pound brass guns taken by Lafayette at Brandywine and the address of welcome was made by Stephen Longfellow, father

Kindness of Ray E. Tenney and George A. Tenney

STONE MARKER PLACED ON THE SITE OF THE OLD COOK TAVERN IN WEST CLAREMONT, NEW HAMPSHIRE,

now owned by Herbert Densmore, where Lafayette stopped for refreshments on the way from Claremont to Windsor, New Hampshire, in June, 1825.

of the poet. He was a member of Congress, yet he was so overcome that he forgot his speech and was obliged to refer to his notes which were in his hat. Our informant's father crossed the procession, an act which Lieutenant Charles Moody of the Portland Rifle Corps considered so disrespectful that he administered a blow with his sword across the culprit's back which the offender declared made a "lasting impression" upon him. Nothing of particular interest happened except that the platform upon which the dignitaries were standing gave way, but Lafayette without seeming to be at all disturbed, moved over to another place. Lunch was served in the General's lodgings, the old Shaw house, still standing on Tree Street, and at four o'clock dinner was served in Union Hall. On Monday, June 27, he left Concord in this manner so vividly described by Mr. Parker in his memoirs:

"The driver on the box of a splendid coach, six elegant horses and harnesses to match, flags each side of the stage box and flags on the horses' head-stalls, with Gen. Lafayette aboard, stretched himself up proudly erect, gathered up his ribbons, six in hand, cracked his whip and was off at a bound. It seemed that the horses felt the excitement of the hour, for they bounded down Main Street up Pleasant Street, and over the Asylum hill at full speed, and were soon lost to view."

To commemorate his visit to Bradford on June 27, 1825 a memorial tablet has been placed at the east end of the Village Green. Lafayette spent a night in this town and a reception was held in the old Raymond Tavern. When this Inn was given up, the last proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gillis, presented the doorstone on which the boulder rests, upon which is the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, BELOVED OF ALL AMERICANS, WHO VISITED THIS TOWN JUNE 27, 1825, STOPPING AT THE RAYMOND TAVERN, WHICH STOOD NEAR THIS SPOT. ERECTED BY THE MERCY HATHAWAY WHITE CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1913.

This tablet was unveiled by young Mason Tappan Goodenough, grandson of Mason Ware Tappan, and by Ralph and Julian Dodge, grandsons of Corporal Abel Blood, who fought with Lafayette.

Of his visit to this New Hampshire town Mason Ware Tappan gives this graphic account:

"I was of just the right age to receive an indelible impression from an excitement of that nature. You have no idea what a furore there was. It seems as though the people loved the French general even more than they did our own Washington.

Lafayette was driven from Concord in the most elegant turnout the country could boast. The driver, a man of splendid physique, was named Norton, and he fully appreciated the honor of his position. It was known about what time the honored guest would arrive and everybody was in waiting.

A line of couriers was placed along the Warner road from the hotel to the top of the hill to give notice of the approach. Presently word was passed down the line, 'He's coming! He's coming!' and everybody yelled 'He's coming!' and began to rush about in the most frantic manner. The bustle now was to form two lines of citizens along the road. Corporal Blood, commonly called 'Old General Blood,' by way of compliment, a hero of Monmouth and Brandywine, became so elevated and elated at the idea of meeting his old commander after a lapse of forty years, that the combined strength of three men was required to keep him in place.

Kindness of Mrs. Russell Jarvis, owner of the coach

OLD CARRIAGE (ON THE LEFT) IN WHICH LAFAYETTE WAS DRIVEN FROM CLAREMONT, NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO WINDSOR, VERMONT,

when on his 1825 tour. It was one of the finest carriages of its day. The coach on the right is equally old, dating back to Governor Hancock's time. The suggestion of including this picture came from Mr. Arthur A. Shurtleff and the picture was obtained from Mrs. Jarvis through the courtesy of Mr. George B. Upham.

As Lafayette approached, Blood, with a terrible struggle, broke from his attendants, and rushed into the center between the lines in front of the house, dressed in a full suit of the old regimentals, swinging his old cocked hat. Norton pulled up the horses when Blood called out at the top of his voice, 'General Lafayette' (with a sharp accent on the last syllable), 'See my cocked hat!' at the same time throwing the hat, which struck Lafayette fair in the face, and was retained by him till he entered the hall."

Kennebunk was described by Levasseur at that time as being an active seaport. The Marquis in replying to a toast said:

"The village of Kennebunk, on the site of which the first tree was felled on the day in which the first gun was fired at Lexington, the signal of American and universal liberty! May that glorious date always be a pledge of republican prosperity and increasing happiness of Kennebunk."

While halting at the mansion of U. S. Marshal Thornton in Saco, where all the large parties took place, some one noticed the pretty dimples of his daughter, Caroline, and ventured to ask her how she happened to have them, to which she replied that "President Munroe kissed me on one cheek and Lafayette on the other." The girls who had been kissed by Lafayette and who in later life turned out to be conceited, were pardoned for this fault by their parents on the ground that they had been kissed by the famous General. John

C. Bradbury, who died not long ago, was one of the school children who welcomed the Marquis to his town and for years preserved the hatband worn by him on that occasion.

Suitable resolutions were passed by both Saco and Biddeford. It is claimed that the General was very much affected by the inscription: "Then I will equip one myself," referring to his statement that he would fit out a vessel at his own expense to bring him to this country. The General spent the night and breakfasted at the house of Colonel Spring, now the office of Frank C. Deering, who has carefully preserved the house because of its associations. There is a tradition that Madam Thornton prepared a banquet at her house in Saco but that the Marquis preferred to stay with his old Revolutionary companion, where he also tarried for another night on his return from Portland. There is still another incident in connection with Lafayette's visit to Saco that has been handed down. Not long ago Hon. R. F. C. Hartley, former head of the York National Bank, told the historian of the town, Frank C. Deering, how he and a friend crawled through a window of the Thornton house, filled their pockets with all the food they could hold and stole away without getting caught. It may have been fortunate, therefore, that the Marquis did not accept this invitation.

Kindness of Walter H. Crockett

LAFAYETTE STATUE ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON

Dedicated June 26, 1883, the gift of John P. Howard, a benefactor of the University.

At the close of this short visit to Maine Lafayette found himself very limited in time and, therefore, decided to travel on Sunday, which, of course, was against the regulations. Judge Emery of Saco has preserved a book recording the horror of Governor Parris at this breach of decorum. The Marquis, however, would not give up his plans, but finally made a compromise, agreeing to attend divine service in Biddeford on his way from Portland. This he carried out, going to the Second Parish Unitarian Church.

Lafayette turned west and traveled through Hopkinton, Warren and Claremont, New Hampshire, and then into Vermont, passing through the towns of Windsor, Woodstock and Montpelier to Burlington, where he arrived on the 28th. "Although Vermont is very mountainous," wrote Levasseur, "we travelled with extreme rapidity, advancing almost all the time more than nine miles an hour, relays of horses having been well disposed by the inhabitants, in order that the General might not be retarded in his progress to New York." At Burlington, Lafayette laid the corner stone of a new building of the present University of Vermont to replace one destroyed by fire in 1824. To show their appreciation of his visit John P. Howard, a benefactor of the University, has erected a statue of Lafayette on

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

THE FAMOUS VASE PRESENTED TO LAFAYETTE BY THE MIDSHIPMEN OF THE "BRANDYWINE"

President Adams decided that each state should be represented by a midshipman on the voyage that carried Lafayette back to France for the last time in 1825. Consequently there were twenty-four, instead of ten, which was the usual number. These young men were so enthused by Lafayette that they made up a subscription, with which fund this silver vase was purchased. It was made in Paris and sent to Lafayette soon after his arrival. The three pictures on the sides of the vase represent the Capitol at Washington, Lafayette's visit to Mount Vernon and the arrival of the "Brandywine" at Havre. For some years this vase was at Lagrange and was sent over for the Chicago Exposition in 1893. It is now owned by Monsieur Xavier de Pusy, great-great-grandson of Lafayette, who considers this his most precious treasure.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

THE "BRANDYWINE" ARRIVING AT HAVRE

detail from the vase presented to Lafayette by the midshipmen of that ship.

the campus on the hillside overlooking Burlington Bay. On leaving Burlington, Lafayette said farewell to New England forever.

An incident that happened in New York is well worthy of narration. While there he witnessed a rowing race between an English crew and the Whitehallers, an organization of ferrymen near No. 2 to 4 State Street, which was won by the Americans. In their boat Lafayette was rowed across North River on the way to Sandy Hook and in memory of this occasion the oarsmen presented their craft to the Marquis, and sent it to Lagrange where it may still be seen in an old coach house, as shown in an accompanying illustration.

On Lafayette's birthday, September 6, 1825, he was received at the White House by John Quincy Adams at a large dinner at which our President proposed the toast "To the 22d of February and 6th of September, the birthdays of Washington and La Fayette" to which the Marquis replied: "To the 4th of July, the birthday of liberty in both hemispheres." On the White House steps, President Adams in his farewell speech said:

"If in future days a Frenchman shall be called on to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. . . . You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of our fate; ours by that unshaken gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance; ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name for the endless ages of time with the name of Washington. . . . Speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the Nation beats as the heart of one man, I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell."

Lafayette ended his eloquent words with

"God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of the States and the Federal Government—accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart: such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat."

The final leave-taking was a touching one, the two embracing while the tears were streaming down the faces of both.

On the following day, Lafayette set sail for Havre in the new frigate "Brandywine," named by President Adams as a compliment to Lafayette and entirely as

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

THE CAPITOL

detail from the vase presented to Lafayette by the midshipmen of the "Brandywine" on Lafayette's last voyage to France in 1825.

a surprise to him. So many midshipmen petitioned the President to be allowed to sail on her that he finally decided, as a further compliment to the Marquis, that each of the twenty-four states of the Union should be represented on board instead of the much smaller number usually required. These young officers became so attached to Lafayette that, as a fitting ending of the voyage, they had a silver vase, shown in an illustration, executed in Paris, by a Mr. Barnett, Consul of the United States, and sent to him soon after his arrival at Lagrange. On it are represented the Capitol at Washington, the visit of Lafayette to the tomb of Washington and the arrival of the "Brandywine" at Havre.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

LAFAYETTE AT WASHINGTON'S TOMB

detail from the vase presented to Lafayette by the midshipmen of the "Brandywine."

On the fourth side is this inscription: "Presented by the midshipmen of the U. S. Frigate 'Brandywine' as a Testimonial of individual esteem, and collective admiration, a Tribute to the private Worth and Public Excellence of General La Fayette." This relic used to be at Lagrange but is now owned by M. Xavier de Pusy, a great-great-grandson of the General. As he left the frigate the spokesman of the midshipmen seized the American Flag which floated at the stern and presented it to Lafayette, saying:

"We cannot confide it to more glorious keeping! Take it, dear general, may it for ever recall to you your alliance with the American nation; may it also sometimes recall to your recollection those who will never forget the happiness they enjoyed of passing twenty-four days with you on board of the Brandywine; and in being displayed twice a year on the towers of your hospitable dwelling, may it recall to your neighbors the anniversary of two great epochs, whose influence on the whole world is incalculable,—the birth of Washington and the declaration of the independence of our country."

"I accept with gratitude," replied the general, "and I hope that, displayed from the most prominent part of my house at La Grange, it will always testify to all who may see it, the kindness of the American nation towards its adopted and devoted son. And I also hope, that when you or your fellow-countrymen visit me, it will tell you, that at La Grange you are not on a foreign soil."

His welcome at Havre was quite different from that evidenced at his departure, when every effort on the part of the government was made to prevent any acclamations. His journey to his home was a continuation of the ovation he received in the twenty-four states of this country, for the creation of which he was so much responsible.

LAGRANGE AND CHAVANIAC, THE LAFAYETTE CHÂTEAUX

BY PAUL F. CADMAN

IN the broad valley that lies between the Seine and the Marne, about halfway between Melun and Meaux and not more than thirty miles from Paris, is the Château Lagrange, where Lafayette made his home during the last thirty-four years of his life. When he took up his residence there he was only forty-three years of age, but twenty-five of those years had been so replete with hardships that they had left the mark of twice their number. After the misery and confusion of the Revolution, after the three years' agony in the Austrian prison at Olmutz, and after three weary years' exile in Holland, the good General must have found sweet comfort in the quiet beauty of his country estate.

The château and the extensive farm which surrounds it were willed to Madame Lafayette by her sainted mother, the Duchess d'Ayen de Noailles, who perished by the death-dealing device invented by Dr. Guillotin, from whom it got its name. The grandfather of the Duchess was a Dupré. He had purchased Lagrange probably from the heirs of the famous Maréchal La Feuillade, who under Louis XIV had given a mortgage on his château in order to endow a lighting system for the Place de la Victoire in Paris, where he had erected a statue of his king. The history of Lagrange, however, did not begin with the generous Maréchal, for before his day it had belonged to the famous Courtenay family; indeed, in the wine cellar today there is a small pillar which supports the vaulted roof, giving considerable evidence that the cave at least is from eight to nine hundred years old.

By the rarest good fortune the country around the château, as well as the building itself, escaped all the ravages and destruction of the Revolution, which curious fact is partially explained by reason of the sparsity of the population and the difficulties of communication. Lagrange was and is quite off the main highways, and perhaps its very isolation saved it. With all the disturbance of property rights after the Revolution, and with all the condemnation and confiscations, the title to the property seems to have rested undisturbed in the name of Madame Lafayette, so that when that rare soul came out of the long suffering which she had shared with her husband at Olmutz she found a happy refuge in her own right, ready to receive her. With very childlike enthusiasm she writes to her beloved aunt at Chavaniac commenting on the comforts and telling of the hearty reception she had received from the domestics. There was a certain very noticeable deference paid to those plain serving-people, and when the good Marquis de Lasteyrie showed us the letter he said, with a merry twinkle in his eye, "You see, she had been taught manners in the school of equality."

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Count de Rennisat*

MINIATURE OF MADAME LAFAYETTE AT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE

From a copy in the Château Beaufossé, France. The original is in the possession of the Count de Rennisat.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris, from a painting *Kindness of M. Xavier de Pusy*

VERY RARE PORTRAIT OF LAFAYETTE AS A YOUTH

Artist unknown. It was shown at the Chicago Exposition of 1893 and is now owned by M. Xavier de Pusy, great-great-grandson of the Marquis.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

MINIATURE OF THE THREE CHILDREN OF LAFAYETTE

It is painted on ivory and is now in the Château de Beaufossé. The likeness of George Washington Lafayette is a rare one.

Since the present writing, word has come of the death of the beloved Marquis de Lasteyrie, the great-grandson of General Lafayette by his youngest daughter, Marie Antoinette Virginia Lafayette. This rare old gentleman, "homme de dixhuite cent trente" occupied the château until his death. Throughout his whole life he generously fulfilled the noble traditions of the Lafayette family. More than a hundred years have passed since Lafayette first took up his residence at Lagrange, and unfortunately the souvenirs have passed to other hands and tales have been forgotten or sadly altered in a century of telling.

On the 25th of May, 1834, one Isaac Townsend of Albany, New York, wrote to Dr. Jules Cloquet, the great French physician who had attended Lafayette during his last illness, and who was a very close and loved friend of the General. Townsend expressed the great sorrow of the American people over the news of Lafayette's death and begged the Doctor to send a few details of the passing of the General to the grieved people of America. In a closing paragraph of his letter and as a kind of afterthought, he asked also for a few intimate details concerning the private life of Lafayette. Dr. Cloquet was very much moved by this note. His first thought was to answer it with one long letter, but as the memories surged in on him he determined to spend his summer vacation in studying the matter and to write a series of letters to Mr. Townsend. The result is the precious collection of fourteen epistles which were all published in the American journals of the time and which are preserved to us today in the book entitled "Souvenirs de la Vie Privée du Général La Fayette, Paris 1836." Letter twelve tells us about the Paris apartment in the Rue d'Anjou, of which we will speak later. Numbers nine, ten and eleven give those rare details about the life at Lagrange which are perhaps the only complete record and which constitute a very precious addition to the bibliography of Lafayette.

Perhaps it would not be amiss to follow the Doctor's story and to tell from time to time of the Lagrange of our day. Perchance the mystic memories of the old may mingle happily with the living freshness of the new.

The entrance to the château, of which there is a painting in the office of the Rhode Island Historical Society of Providence, was and is through a long avenue of beautiful trees—apple trees in Lafayette's time, but today magnificent pines and cypresses, many of which were sent as tokens of friendship from America. The stone bridge over the moat still stands—no doubt there was a "postern-gate" in the centuries past. The great ivy-covered towers with their beautifully peaked and shiny-shingled roofs are two of five which seem to support the entire structure.

Long ago the inner court was closed and the rooms facing inward must have been dismal indeed. Some happy owner, however, tore out one side of the quadrangle and opened the other three, not only to light and air, but to a beautiful quiet vista of rolling farmland.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

MADAME LAFAYETTE, WIFE OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE

From an original painting, now in the home of M. François de Corcelle, great-grandson of Lafayette. Madame Lafayette encouraged her husband to take up our cause, and this country, therefore, owes her also a deep debt of gratitude.

That very ivy which reaches today to the topmost heights of the entrance towers has been climbing for more than a hundred and twenty years, for it was planted in 1802 by the famous Charles Fox, who was consistently a Francophile in his day and who was a frequent visitor at the Lafayette farm.

On either side of the drive, guarding, as it were, the stone bridge, are two Revolutionary cannon which were presented to Lafayette by the people of Paris. Three times these same guns have been buried at Lagrange, that they might not become a part of German plunder. The Marquis told us that in 1870 a column of German troops passed the château at a very early hour in the morning. The Marquise de Lasteyrie, his mother, heard a commotion in the court and looking out saw the precious guns being dragged away by Prussian troopers. Although it was midwinter she dressed with all speed and made after them. The Commander was persuaded that they were useless as firearms and that they had no trophy value for him, and thus the family treasure was left on the road in the cold of a winter's morning, with only the Marquise to guard them. Fortunately a friendly team came along and pulled them back to shelter, where they were speedily buried for protection against further invasion. When the Germans threatened Paris by the Marne in 1914, they were again hidden, that they might not become a part of the spoils of war. Today they stand, their barrels generously polished, and their ancient carriages painted in friendly green.

Dr. Cloquet says that there were some eight hundred "arpents" in the property, which would make about a thousand acres. The whole is still intact today, and by reason of a hundred years of excellent husbandry it is perhaps even more beautiful than ever before. In the great park which immediately surrounds the château there are many trees which came from America in Lafayette's time, mere slips or saplings. A century has worked its miracle, and the picture here shows two which have reached a healthy maturity. On Washington's Birthday, 1922, the Daughters of the American Revolution planted a tiny oak from Lagrange at Mount Vernon, a happy transplanting in the great garden of Franco-American friendship.

A previous chapter refers to a boat in which the so-called "Whitehallers" rowed the General to shore. Some time later the boat was boxed up and sent to Lafayette at Lagrange. Dr. Cloquet tells this story with a great deal of relish and he even sketches a little picture of it

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

ROWBOAT AT LAGRANGE IN WHICH THE "WHITEHALLERS" OF NEW YORK CITY ROWED LAFAYETTE IN THE YEAR 1825 JUST BEFORE EMBARKING FOR FRANCE

It was presented to him and for many years was kept in a shed which later was torn down. The boat was then removed to a barn, where it is now shown to any visitors who make inquiry about it. There is a painted inscription on it almost effaced by time and weather, reading "American Star—Victorious Dec. 9 1824". The boat was used by the "Whitehallers" in a winning race held while Lafayette was in New York.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris, from a painting *Kindness of M. François de Corcelle and Paul F. Cadman*

PAINTING OF LAFAYETTE'S MOTHER, WITH LAFAYETTE AT HER SIDE, AND A COUSIN (MENTIONED IN THE TEXT) IN THE FRAME

This picture of Lafayette was made when he was about seven years of age and is almost the only one painted of him when he was a child. It is now in the home of the Corcelle family in Paris. The name of the artist is uncertain.

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

NORTHERN VIEW AND MAIN ENTRANCE OF LAGRANGE

Lafayette lived here for many years of his life. He was born at Chavaniac and died at Paris. There is a painting of this view in the Rhode Island Historical Society of Providence, which Society has assisted much in the preparation of this volume.

in the boathouse which Lafayette had made for it in the garden of the château. This boathouse has, alas, fallen into ruin, but the "American Star," shown in an illustration, has been tenderly stored in a good dry carriage house where it is proud and noble even in its faded gray, and one can still read the yellow inscription on the side: AMERICAN STAR—VICTORIOUS DEC. 9–1824.

In Lafayette's time Lagrange must have been quite a little community, for there was a chapel of no mean proportions, and it was in this very church that Madame Lafayette attended her last mass. "After all," said the Marquis, "Madame Lafayette was the most beautiful figure in the whole story." From what is written of the perfect devotion to her husband and of the true saintliness of her life, one feels that she may well have an equal share of the homage that is given to her hero husband. The exterior of the chapel is little changed, the clock still strikes the hour bravely, and one lone hand tells the circle of time on a numberless dial, but inside, where there must have been the blue-and-gold statue of Joan of Arc and a Mary of the Bleeding Heart, there is now only a great hayloft. Altar, statues and stations have gone—who can say where? The arched roof, a real marvel of the wood-joiners' craft, is hung with half a century's cobwebs and festooned with the chaff of fifty seasons' threshings.

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

SOUTHERN VIEW OF LAGRANGE

In the right, or southeastern, tower one flight up is the library of the Marquis, his bedroom being next to it, on the left.

The farm! Ah! there was the real glory of Lagrange, for it was first of all to be a farmer that Lafayette took refuge in the country. What a farm it must have been! What a farm it is! Dr. Cloquet tells us how happy the General was in his agricultural life. Indeed, the good Doctor's description smacks a bit of the blindness of the hero-worshipper, for surely such perfection never existed on any farm save perhaps behind the gorgeous red tomatoes of a modern seed catalogue. The sheep-cote housed a flock of a thousand blooded Merinos, larger in body and richer in wool than any in all France. There were also thirty or more Schwartz cows from Switzerland and not a few of the "belle race de Normandie." There was a bull from Devonshire and several of the same breed from the United States, and there were pigs too. An old farm register written in Lafayette's hand was found some years ago at Chavaniac, telling of his farming experiences at Lagrange, one entry reading, "I brought back from Baltimore, a boar and a sow of prime beauty, a gift from Mr. Skinner." Lafayette's last voyage to America greatly enriched his agricultural knowledge, and it is amusing to note that during his absence every vessel brought back letters to his head foreman with detailed instructions for the care and conduct of his beloved farm. Dr. Cloquet was so impressed by the condition of the porkers that he wrote, "Even the pig sty has a sweet smell . . . which is rare for such places." He also records a sad fight between a Chinese boar and the prize Baltimore boar, in which the oriental came off victorious, but later died of his wounds. The poultry

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company

Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie

EASTERN VIEW OF LAGRANGE

The ivy was planted by Charles Fox in 1802, while on a visit to Lafayette. Lafayette's library is in the left tower, one flight up.

yard, though, must have been the crowning glory, for there were gold and silver pheasants, Chinese bantams, ducks from Carolina and geese from Louisiana. Another entry in the farm journal reads: "My stock of turkeys has been crossed with two wild cocks which General Koche and Mr. Townsend sent me from America." Commander Morris had sent a small steam boiler, "une belle machine," as its owner expressed it, which was much admired, and which was used to prepare the food for the pigs and the poultry. Another marvel was a real pump which was used to sprinkle the straw and the manure.

The farmhouse used to be a marvel of neatness and order. There were the great farm registers which Lafayette so proudly carried to America, one of which, to his great sorrow, was lost in New York. There were thirty farm hands in regular employ and in the harvest season there were from sixty to eighty, and, says Dr. Cloquet, the mess table was so immaculate that even "personnes les plus delicates" could eat in comfort from its shining tiles. Then there was the carriage house and the cider press and the wine vats, all reflecting the same general perfection.

That was a hundred years ago! Commander Morris' famous steam boiler has of course fallen to pieces and the sprinkling pump is no longer a marvel, but there is still a splendid flock of healthy sheep in the sheep pens and there is still poultry in abundance, and there are many signs of that same scrupulous care and neatness which the illustrious General-farmer made a tradition more than a century ago.

The main entrance to the château proper is today, as of old, across the inner court in the south wing. Dr. Cloquet describes each room of interest and enumerates a long list of fascinating American souvenirs, which treasures have, alas, been divided among the many descendants of the General and which are today scattered all over the world. Perhaps the greatest number ever reassembled was at the Exposition of the Franco-American Souvenirs of the War of Independence, which was held at Chicago in 1893. Some of these will be briefly mentioned. A catalogue of this exposition enumerates many of the very things that Dr. Cloquet describes. In the entrance hall, or rather on the grand stairway, there are today only two souvenirs of the General. The first is a bust of Lafayette by David d'Angers, which was probably done in 1826. The original of this was for a long time in the Invalides Museum, but by reason of some adverse political wind it was removed and for a number of years was lost. One day, the Marquis de Lasteyrie, father of the late Marquis, was walking in the Rue St. Lazare, when he saw the bust for sale in a bric-a-brac shop. He purchased it for sixty francs, then roughly equivalent to twelve dollars, and took it to Lagrange, where it has been ever since. Looking down on the grand stairway is the second object of interest to Americans, the famous portrait of Lafayette by Ary Scheffer, an exact duplicate of which hangs by the chair of the Speaker in the House at Washington. Dr. Cloquet says that this is a splendid likeness, and he goes on to give a few details of Lafayette's general make-up, which we will mention later.

On the ground floor of the château, opening off the main hall, is the beautiful oak-finished dining room, which was so constantly the scene of good cheer and festivity while the General was the master of the house. The Doctor says that there were rarely less than twenty-five at table, and this is especially credible if one will think of the great generosity of Lafayette's nature; added to this is the fact that the spacious château offers easy accommodation for as many permanent guests.

Upstairs there are only two rooms which today preserve the general appearance described by Dr. Cloquet—the library and the bedroom of Lafayette. The pleasant reception room and the tower room which adjoins it hold no souvenirs save a little statue of the General in

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

CORNER OF LAFAYETTE'S BEDROOM AT LAGRANGE

There are five doors in this room and over each one is an oil painting of one of the Lafayette family. The lady over the door (in the photograph) is an aunt of Lafayette. The other portrait is the only one existing of the father of Lafayette. The portrait of the boy over the mantelpiece is that of the great-great-grandson of Lafayette. The wall paper is modern, but the woodwork and furnishings belong to Lafayette's time.

Sèvres porcelain, which is so poorly done that it looks almost like a caricature. The library, however, is almost as he left it and is herewith reproduced in an illustration. It is a tower room, on the second floor in the southeastern corner of the building, one window opening out towards the farmyard. The desk and chair near by are placed today as they were when the General used them either for his correspondence or for study. Above the bookcases are nine paintings, only two of which are interesting to us—those of Washington and Franklin. The six small urns, two of which can be seen in the picture, bear the names Daverhourt, Laurens, Desaix, Mandat, Kalb and Gouvion. The books are for the most part Lafayette's own collection, which includes many gift volumes from America. Unhappily the famous cushions of tapestry which were worked by Martha Washington at the age of seventy and which formerly adorned the chairs in the library have passed into other hands; one of these, belonging to Madame de Corcelle, is reproduced in an illustration.

The library opens off the bedroom and forms a sort of private suite. Over the five doors in the latter room are oil paintings of Lafayette's immediate family, several of whom are shown in an illustration: they include father, mother and grandmother, and the two aunts

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

LAFAYETTE'S BEAUTIFUL LIBRARY AT LAGRANGE

The plaster plaques of Washington and Franklin are seen above the bookshelves. The large armchair and the writing table were both used by Lafayette and are placed where they were in his day. They bear small inscriptions to that effect. They are probably the ones exhibited at the Chicago Fair. The greater part of the books were given to Lafayette by admiring authors, many of them from America. The closed window overlooks the farm buildings and the "barn-yard." The Marquis and Marquise de Lasteyrie were living at Lagrange at the time Paul F. Cadman visited them. The Marquis was a great-grandson of Lafayette. This library and the bedroom adjoining have much the same appearance as in the days when they were used by the General.

on his father's side to whom he was always so devoted. The picture of the Marquis de Lafayette, father of the General, is probably the only one in existence. The Marquis was killed at the Battle of Minden, when Lafayette was only two years old. This room has been redecorated and refurnished in modern times, but the two engravings, one a picture of Lafayette at the review of Frederick the Great and the other of Baltimore in 1752, are copies of old prints that probably hung on the walls in the General's time.

Physically speaking, these are all the souvenirs of Lafayette that remain at Lagrange, but the truth is that the spirit of the man hangs over the place with a presence that cannot be denied. This spirit was reflected particularly in the gentle character of the good Marquis de Lasteyrie, who until his death was lord of the manor. In June, 1918, the writer was fighting with the Second American Division in the Belleau Woods near Château-Thierry. Our

Divisional Headquarters was in great confusion, and every officer was feeling the strain of responsibility and of inexperience. One day, the Count, Colonel de Chambrun, a cousin of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie, came in to help us. He brought that same smile which Dr. Cloquet tells us was always with Lafayette. He brought peace and order, and best of all, cheerfulness to our troubled command. The Marquis de Lasteyrie had this same smile. He moved about his beautiful estate with the same pride and pleasure that was Lafayette's. He seemed almost to have caught the mantle of his great ancestor, and, like his predecessor, was adored by his household and by the people in the community. Perhaps it was through him, perhaps it was through memories and associations, perhaps through both, that the spirit of Lafayette has lived at Lagrange.

Many of the châteaux of France are today falling into ruin, for the reason that income and inheritance taxes have combined with other forces to make it practically impossible to maintain these wonderful old dwellings. Of the smaller, intimate and historic châteaux, Lagrange is perhaps the best preserved, for inside and out it bears all the marks of devoted care and attention. To us it is sacred ground, sown with a host of memories of the good man who was loved by Washington as a son and who was the co-defender with him of the liberty which we hold as our most precious heritage.

It is many miles from Lagrange to the ancient château of Chavaniac where Lafayette was born. Shall we make the distance at a leap and consider for a few moments this other historic monument in the Lafayette story?

In the principal public square of the city of Claremont-Ferrand there stands a magnificent equestrian statue of Vercingetorix, that intrepid chief of the Gauls who directed the last resistance of the Avernii against Cæsar's armies. That this monument is of recent date (1905) is an ample indication that the present-day inhabitants of the Auvergne are highly proud of their Gallic ancestry. The Auvergne, no doubt, took its name from those very Avernii who occupied the land long years before Rome's conquests. The ancient province was united to the French crown in 1610. Claremont-Ferrand was at that time the capital. The domain lay, roughly speaking, in the south-central part of France, in that volcanic range which is called today the Mountains of Auvergne, and which boasts the beautiful peaks of Puy-de-Dôme, Plomb-de-Cantal and Puy-de-Sancy. It is this same range that gives rise to the regal Loire, the gentle Allier and a host of smaller rivers. Here the high rims of extinct craters and the bold lava cliffs and promontories are topped by the ruins of many a lordly castle, stately symbols of a nobility whose power and wealth has long since vanished, but whose pride in birth and name and deed grows brighter with the passing centuries. The Romans left the Latin stamp on all they touched, but the Auvergnats are by far more Gaul than Latin, and perhaps the great lords of the châteaux of the Auvergne were proud to trace their line to the noble Vercingetorix himself, or to Bituit, his royal predecessor. At all events, the hardy sons of the mountains are today quite certain of their Gallic descent.

This is the province that gave birth to the famous regiment of Auvergne, Rochambeau's pride at the siege of Yorktown, whose motto was at one time, "Ni hommes, ni femmes, mais tous Auvergnats." At the risk of a rather wide digression, here is the popular explanation of this curious device: There is current in the Auvergne today a tale that is known as the "Legende auvergnate": When the famous regiment of the Auvergne was first formed, each company was supplied with a certain number of players of the "cornemuse," a kind of bagpipe. So popular was the music of this local instrument, that the players were called into service on the slightest provocation, and no sooner did the music begin, than the brave sons

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris, from a painting in the Hôtel des Invalides, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

LAFAYETTE IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES

as he looked a short time before his death in 1834. This likeness was painted in the garden at Lagrange, by Mme. Joubert. Many engravings have been made from this painting.

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

TWO OF THE MANY TREES AT LAGRANGE SENT FROM AMERICA TO LAFAYETTE

It is not known who presented them to the French General, but they are certainly more than a hundred years old.

of Vercingetorix would fall to dancing, all the while singing the songs of the herdsmen of the mountains. In one of the many wars of Louis XIV, the Auvergnats found themselves one day very near the enemy and on the eve of a great battle. In those times it was the custom to go into battle all dressed in "Sunday best." Consequently, every strap was shined and every buckle was resplendent. Sleep was quite out of the question, and there was nothing to do but wait for the daylight. Suddenly the bagpipers struck up a tune, and with one accord the entire regiment fell to dancing. There being no ladies present, there was nothing to do but choose partners among the comrades. Now it happened that a foreign officer from a friendly nation was present to observe the conduct of the battle, and he was so astonished, that he turned to the commander and said, "Surely these are not men, or they would not be dancing on the eve of battle." "You are right," replied the commander, "they are neither men nor women, but they are all Auvergnats."

One of the largest and oldest feudal holdings in the Auvergne was the Châtellenie of Aubusson, and one of its chief dependencies was the terrain known as Chavaniac. After numerous sales and transfers, this land fell into the hands of one Pons Suat, late in the thirteenth century. It appears that he was ennobled, probably by Charles VI, for soon after his purchase of the property he established a mass which was to be said on the first Tuesday in every month in the little church of Notre Dame de Langeac. In the acts of the endowment of this mass he calls himself Seigneur de Chavaniac.

In the various legal documents connected with the records of the domain the name suffers considerable alteration, which may be due to the general inability of the early notaries to spell, or perhaps the fact that the various pronunciations of the word led to a rather considerable freedom in the matter of orthography. Thus in 994 it was called Cavaniac; in 1130, Javaiac; in 1448, Chavenhat; in 1489, Chavanhac; in 1757, Saint-Roch de Chavaniac; in 1790, Chavaniac-Lafayette; and finally in 1872, Chavagnac. Chavaniac-Lafayette seems to have won out finally, as this is the official designation in the postal almanac of the day.

Although the Suats were not of the oldest and best-established aristocracy, their social position was sure, and they made a number of very important alliances by marriage. In 1605, one of the sons of the house married Françoise de La Rochefoucauld. The eldest son of this marriage was wedded on November 20, 1671, to Marie de Royand. The son of their union, Jacques-Roch, took to wife Marguerite d'Aurelles de la Frédièreand, and to them one daughter, Marie-Catherine, was born. In due time she became the wife of Édouard du Motier de Lafayette, seigneur and baron of the château and lands of Vissac, Fix, and "other places." It was through this marriage that the château and domain of Chavaniac came into the Lafayette family.

And now a word about the Lafayettes: The château de Vissac was in the same general region as that of Chavaniac. The Motiers de Lafayette acquired it through marriage, but the seat of their own family was near Claremont-Ferrand and still well within the Auvergne. The family had been known to history since the early ninth century and was one of great wealth and distinction. A Gilbert II perished in the first Crusade in 1095; Jean was killed in the battle of Poitiers in 1356. Gilbert VII won for himself the title of Maréchal de France "at a time when only four living officers could hold the rank"; he also became "first regent of France" and captain-general in the king's armies. His coat of arms bore this curious anagram: "metior, merito, Motier." François died in the battle of Saint-Quentin in 1557, Pierre in the battle of Moncontour in 1569; Claude was for thirty-eight years a major-general under Turenne and took part in sixty-five sieges and in five open battles. Furthermore, the family contracted a number of marriages with other noble houses whose names are foremost in the "Livre d'Or de la Noblesse Française": Latour d'Auvergne, de Murat, Polignac, Latour-Marbourg, Noailles and de Ségur. One historian says that the house of Motier furnished four governors of Velay (the region just southeast of Auvergne), many knights of the Order of Malta, a bishop of the diocese of Limoges, and a director of the Sorbonne.

In 1620 the family separated into two branches, the Lafayettes and the Champetières. The latter branch possessed the lands of Vissac, but the line soon became extinct and the property came into the hands of Charles du Motier, the father of the Édouard mentioned above. Édouard himself was a soldier of considerable reputation and had proved his worth in five great battles. His youngest son, Christophe-Roch-Gilbert, married Julie de la Rivière—and two years after the birth of his only son, he perished in the Battle of Minden, August 1, 1759. The half-orphaned boy was destined to be the great General Lafayette, the hero of the two great Revolutions. If for no other reason, this rather extensive genealogy may be interesting as accounting for the majority of the seven given names with which Lafayette was burdened.

As to the name itself, it was in all probability a "nom de terre," supposedly the Villa Faïa, the principal family holding near Claremont-Ferrand. One may have spoken of the Motiers of Villa Faïa which would easily corrupt into Lafayette. The name is variously written in the French historical documents. Some of the oldest employ the one-word form, "Lafayette," while the period just prior to the Revolution seems to have favored the two-word spelling, "La Fayette." There does not appear to be any particular importance attached to the spelling, but it is curious to note that before the Revolution the General used the split form, and after the Revolution he employed the one word.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

CUSHION WORKED BY MARTHA WASHINGTON AFTER HER SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY AND PRESENTED TO LAFAYETTE

The chair was made to order for the cushion. Both cushion and chair were formerly in the Château Lagrange in Lafayette's library and were exhibited at the Chicago Fair. The underneath part of the cushion shows the inscription: "Worked by Mrs. Martha Washington at the age of 70. Presented by her grandchild Eleanor Parke Lewis to her honored and beloved Father Genl LaFayette, at Woodlawn, August 31, 1825." It is now in the Château de Beaufossé, the property of Madame de Corcelle.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

ARMCHAIR AND WRITING DESK OF MADAME LAFAYETTE

also cup and saucer belonging to her tea set. The books were presented to Lafayette at the time of his voyage to America in 1824. The printed cloth in the background shows an allegory of the union of France and America, depicting the American flag and Indians. These relics are all at the Château de Beaufossé, the property of Madame de Corcelle.

It may be supposed that he considered it the less assuming form and consequently the more democratic. The one word is used on both the inscriptions on the tombs at Picpus Cemetery.

In the archives of the little parish of Saint-Roch de Chavaniac, the birth of Lafayette is registered in this quaint and extravagant form:

"The year 1757 and the sixteenth of September, was born the very high and very mighty noble seigneur Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Mottier de La Fayette, legitimate son of the very high and very mighty noble seigneur Michel-Louis-Christophe-Roch-Gilbert du Mottier, Marquis of La Fayette, baron of Vissac, seigneur of Saint-Romain and other places, and of the very high and very mighty lady Marie-Louise-Julie de la Rivière, and was baptised the 17th of the same month. His godfather was the very high and very mighty noble seigneur Joseph-Yves-Thibeaux-Hiacinthe de la Rivière, seigneur of Kèroflois and other places, and in his absence by the honorable Paul de Murat, grand vicar of Sens, chaplain of Madame la Dauphine, abbot of Mauriac; his godmother was the very high and very mighty lady Marie-Catherine de Chavaniac, grand lady of the said place and of this parish, in the presence of the honorable Antoine Bonnefoy, priest and curate of Vissac, and of André Courtial.

Signed: de Murat, Chavaniac, de La Fayette, Bonnefoi, curate of Vissac, Courtial, Vidal, curate."

Here alone was evidence enough to condemn any man before the tribunals of the Terror.

Alas! There are but a few paltry details about the childhood of Lafayette. In his own Memoirs he passes over the whole period in one or two paragraphs, and his biographers have not been able to do much better. Perhaps he, too, was a descendant of the noble Vercingetorix and the great Avernii! One thing is certain, he inherited all the fighting instincts of his military forebears, all their patriotism, and all their sportsmanship. Only one incident stood out in his child mind as worthy of mention. While he was yet a small lad, the country around Chavaniac was ravaged by a wolf, which Lafayette called a "hyena." The beast did so much damage that it became historic and was known for years as the "fameuse bête du Gévaudan." When on September 20, 1765, it was killed by Monsieur Antoine, "lieutenant de chasse et porte-arquebuse du roi" it was an occasion for a general celebration. The boy Lafayette's greatest desire was to meet the famous "hyena" in one of his after-

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Madame de Corcelle*

TOILET SET OF SÈVRES PORCELAIN MADE TO ORDER AND PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON BY LOUIS XVI

It was willed by Washington to Lafayette. On the outside of the box containing this set appears George Washington's monogram. The amusing thing about the set is its size. The pitcher is about as large as a good-sized "creamer," while the wash basin resembles a vegetable dish in a table service. The set is now in the Château de Beaufossé, the property of Madame de Corcelle.

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

GENERAL VIEW OF CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC,

now restored very much as it must have looked in Lafayette's youthful days. It will be remembered that its owner was obliged to sell all his property in order to be able to come to America, and that later on Madame de Chavaniac repurchased this château for Lafayette with money loaned by the peasants. During the World War the "French Heroes Lafayette Memorial Fund" bought the property from the present Marquis de Lafayette, and later, with a new organization called "Lafayette Memorial Fund" under the able leadership of Mme. Charles LeVerrier, assisted by Miss Clara G. Perry, called by the villagers "Notre Miss," and Miss Grace Nichols, both of Boston, and Mrs. Dr. Barlow Brown of Chicago, the place has developed from a former haven of refuge for a hundred or so children and orphans into a school. A "Preventorium" has also been added to care for an additional two hundred or more delicate children, the results being excellent. The château is now called "Chavaniac-Lafayette," or sometimes only "Lafayette," and will serve as a permanent reminder of Lafayette's devotion to this country. It has been termed by some the "Mount Vernon of France." Clemenceau is the Honorary President of the Society.

noon walks. Just how he pictured himself effecting the monster's destruction will be easy for all who have been boys and have wrestled with giants and dragons. At all events, the idea of such an encounter was exceedingly distasteful to the good ladies of Chavaniac, and consequently he kept his dreams to himself.

Marie-Catherine du Motier was the lady of Chavaniac and the grandmother of Lafayette. She was held in peculiar esteem throughout all the district, and one author says that people came as far as twenty leagues to consult her on questions of every sort. Her maiden daughter, Marguerite-Madeleine, assisted her in the conduct of the property. It appears that Lafayette's mother spent most of her time in Paris with her father. In his Memoirs, the General speaks of her with every respect, but there is no sign of affection or close *camaraderie* between them. She died when the boy was only thirteen years old. An-

Kindness of Charles E. Kelley and Regis Bernard

MONUMENT TO THE LAFAYETTE FAMILY IN THE "GRAND PLACE," OR VILLAGE SQUARE, AT CHAVANIAC, FRANCE

The inscriptions mention the General, his son, Oscar and Edmund Lafayette, another tablet being in memory of the "Lafayette family." The funds were given by the peasants, and so much was expended on the pedestal that it was impossible to add the statue of Lafayette as intended. Therefore the cheapest one that could be found was purchased. Chavaniac is a small town of only sixty "feux," or houses as we would say.

other aunt, Louise-Charlotte Guérin, Baronesse of Montéoloux, had been widowed at an early age, and had brought her little daughter to share the hospitality of Chavaniac. The two little cousins were genuine friends, and the attachment that sprang up between them lasted for many years. Such was the household in which Lafayette grew up. There is a vague sadness in the picture. Three ladies, excellent souls all, but in deep mourning and very much occupied with the affairs of the property; the stillness of the great gray house, the poverty of the little village, the wide sweeps of silent plains and rolling hills. The only gay lights are the happy companionship of the little cousin and that of the good Abbot Tayon who was charged with the lad's instruction and who was his devoted guide to the day of his wedding. At the age of eleven, Lafayette left Chavaniac to begin his studies at the Collège du Plessis in Paris. Soon afterward, his mother's sudden death left him the immense fortune which he used to such great advantage in the cause of liberty.

There is a tradition which holds that the sombre old château de Chavaniac dates from the fourteenth century, but there is neither documentary nor architectural evidence to prove it. There are records to show that the principal edifice was burned in the latter part of the seventeenth century and that it was restored in 1701, seven years before it came into the Lafayette family. The building sets high on a broad knoll which overlooks the beautiful plain of Chaliergues. The principal façade is oriented on the north and looks out over four lines of graceful foothills and on, when it is clear, to the great bald Puy-de-Dôme, some thirty miles distant; a western exposure gives one the enchanting sunsets of the Auvergne. In fact, it is the site that makes the building lovely, for there is nothing in the form or line which could be called beautiful. Two huge towers, perhaps forty-five feet in height and sixty feet in circumference, corner a huge parallelogram of walls roughly forty feet high, giving a frontage of seventy to eighty feet.

The arrangement of the rooms in the time of Lafayette's boyhood is not definitely known, but in his excellent monograph, Henry Mosnier describes them as they were in 1883, some fifty years after the General's death. During that half-century, the château remained the cherished property of the Lafayette family, and it is probable that the order and furnishings of the rooms were not disturbed:

". . . it consists of a ground floor which is today occupied only by the kitchens, the servants quarters and the storerooms, a first floor containing several fine rooms, and finally a top floor with a number of rooms for the most part unoccupied since 1829, the year of the last voyage of Lafayette to his native soil.

The most important room on the first floor is a gallery thirteen meters long which served its turn both as dining room and festival hall. It is decorated with portraits of the family, nearly all modern, and with busts, among which are those of Franklin, Washington, J. J. Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Cesar, Cicero, Socrates, etc. A library with approximately a thousand volumes bears the ex libris with the arms and the devise of the General, 'Cur non?' The majority of these works concern the War of the American Independence and the French Revolution.

The principal salon, square in form, is decorated in good paintings, portraits of the Marshal de Lafayette, the victor of Bauge, of the Count de Toulouse; of the General painted by Ary Scheffer, in 1819, and representing him life size in civilian clothes; of his father and mother, his aunt, etc.

After a tradition, General Lafayette may have been born in a room on the first floor in the right hand tower. . . This room, carpeted in green and lighted by a single window, contains today only modern furniture. . . . This room became in 1800, the General's study.

On the first floor there is also a modest chapel which has nothing remarkable about it except a crucifix signed by Lechevalier-Bailly and dated 1735; a dining room and several large bedrooms decorated with family portraits and arms and souvenirs of all kinds offered to Lafayette either in France or in America.

The description of these objects and of all the furniture of the château would exceed the limits of this study. Let us confine ourselves to a few lines on the little museum in the tower called the

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

"LAFAYETTE CHILDREN", AS THEY CALL THEMSELVES, OF THE ORPHANAGE AT CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC, PLAYING THE AMERICAN GAME OF BASEBALL, WHICH, IT IS SAID, THEY ENJOY VERY MUCH

treasury which served in times gone by as a chart room and which is protected by an iron door. It contains the following objects, kept with pious care:

A flag stone taken from the cells of the Bastile, on which are engraved the effigies of Louis XVI, of Bailly, of Lafayette with the following inscription: 'Ex unitate libertas, anno primo 1789.' Two little cannons forged from the bolts of the old state prison. . . . Bullets from the Bastile. . . . The saddle and blue velour trappings which Lafayette used in 1830; The bed in which he died in Paris; A picture, by Ary Scheffer, representing him after his death. . . . Views of the Lafayette family tomb in the cemetery of Picpus, of Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon, of the entrance to the château of Lagrange; Portraits of Franklin, Jackson and Jefferson; A little cabinet containing the medals struck in honor of the great patriot, etc., etc. . . . At the east of the château, a court planted with time-honored trees and surrounded by the stables and outhouses; at the west, a terrace preceded by a parterre; at the south a large vegetable garden. . . ."

Unhappily, it is impossible to tell again here those stirring events of the life of Lafayette which combine ambition, glory and achievement with suffering, sorrow and exile. Many incidents of the drama center around Chavaniac, for, although he never made his birthplace his official residence, he was throughout all his life an honored citizen of the Auvergne and the faithful benefactor of the little commune which had given him birth. In the rich and beautiful biography of Madame Lafayette, written by her daughter, Madame de Lasteyrie, there is frequent allusion to the generous affection in which the people of the Auvergne held the General. On the occasion of his first visit to Chavaniac after his victories in America,

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

THE NEW SCHOOL AT CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC FOR THE USE OF THE FRENCH CHILDREN, WHICH WAS BUILT BY GERMAN PRISONERS

his journey was a never-ending procession of welcome and honor. Claremont had a great torchlight parade, and Brioude went out to meet him with a delegation of citizens to offer the "vin d'honneur."

Indeed, the region had many reasons for offering homage to its hero. On one occasion when the wheat crop was almost a complete failure, the Lafayette granaries were found to be fully stocked with reserves. "Monsieur le Marquis," said his manager, "now is the time to sell your grain." "No," Lafayette replied, "now is the time to give it." The distribution of the entire reserve carried the whole vicinity over a very difficult winter. Furthermore, it was to the good Marquis that the little town of Aurac owed the establishment of a weekly market and of two annual fairs which brought considerable prosperity. Again, it was Lafayette who opened up the highways and kept them in repair. Perhaps most noteworthy of all was the establishment of a medical clinic for the poor of the community. This worthy work was put into the hands of one Doctor Jean-Ignace Guintrandy. For years the curate of Chavaniac was supported entirely by the Marquis, and when at last his services were accomplished, he and the good doctor were taken into a quiet retreat in the château, where they lived out their years in comfort.

Nor were the agricultural studies which the General had made in America practised only at Lagrange, for an agricultural expert, John Dyson, was employed to introduce modern methods of farming at Chavaniac and to improve the stocks of cattle, pigs and poultry. A model school for boys was established in the village and it soon attracted pupils from all the country around, thereby supplying many a pensionnaire to the needy villagers. But with all this generous interest in the community-at-large there was never any patronizing nor any attempt to play "bon prince."

Such a spirit had its reward, for in the darkest days of the Terror, the simple folk of the region were loyal and helpful to the stricken family at the château. Indeed, when the property of Lafayette was sold at auction, Madame de Chavaniac, his beloved aunt, was able to buy it herself from funds which were loaned to her by the peasants, and it was the same true friends who cared for her until order was restored. It was from Chavaniac that Madame Lafayette went to the misery of her Paris prison. It was from Chavaniac that she went with her daughters to join Lafayette at Olmutz.

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

LUNCHEON FOR A FEW OF THE "LAFAYETTE BOYS" AT THE CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

ROOM IN THE CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC IN WHICH LAFAYETTE WAS BORN

It has been restored by the "Lafayette Memorial Fund" as nearly as possible to the condition it was in when used by the Marquis. Occasionally American visitors spend the night in it. On the mantelpiece is a replica of the Bartholdi Monument in Paris showing Washington and Lafayette shaking hands.

When the agony of the Terror was passed and the Lafayettes were peacefully installed at Lagrange, they did not wait long to pay a visit to the old homestead. On the 30th, Thermidor 1800, Lafayette wrote from Chavaniac:

"My entire family is at this time reunited here in this place where my Aunt, for several years, had given up hope of ever seeing us again. It was a great joy to me also to present to her my beloved daughter-in-law, Emily Tracy, today the wife of the fortunate George, who possesses all the good qualities that my heart could desire."

Scarcely had he arrived before he began interesting himself in the entire community as he had always done in the times past. Every problem from crops and supplies to political administration and taxes came under his judgment. Although his chosen residence was in the far-away château de Lagrange, he kept in close touch with all at Chavaniac and made a yearly pilgrimage to visit his good aunt who had been mother indeed to him and for whom he always showed marked affection. The noble lady lived to be ninety-two, despite all her hardships. In 1817, the visit at Chavaniac was longer than usual, by reason of a famine that had set in near Lagrange. With his customary bounty, Lafayette had organized a distribution of grain from his own supplies and had instituted a soup kitchen and even a bureau of financial assistance. As the situation became more and more acute, the whole family decided to migrate to the Auvergne so that the inhabitants could have the supplies which they themselves were consuming. This last visit was in 1829. Never before had the General been so joyously received by his native province. A local historian in telling of the ceremonies at Chavaniac writes:

". . . and the name of Lafayette, repeated so many times during the celebration, by the echoes of the Auvergne, mounted to the very sky, borne on the prayers of the entire village."

That was more than ninety years ago! Today the Auvergne as a geographical unit is only a memory. To be sure, one speaks of going to or coming from the Auvergne, but one says the same of Brittany, Normandy, Saintonge and Languedoc. The general region is understood, but the boundaries are no more. The Department of the Haute-Loire claims the honors of Chavaniac and points proudly to the great gray château as one of its choicest historic monuments.

In our busy land, a generation is a lifetime, the hamlet of yesterday is the metropolis of tomorrow; but in France, time keeps a gentler gait. A century rolls by and leaves only a few scratches: a railway, a telephone, a motor bus. The Old yields grudgingly, while the New often ages in proving its worth. The little village of Chavaniac has faded and settled a bit; its school, long since taken over by the commune, keeps only the glory of its former founder; to all intents and purposes the march of progress has passed it by. The little town of Aurac has stood quite still for more than fourscore years. The sons and daughters of those simple peasants who loved and served the Lafayettes

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

PISTOLS GIVEN TO LAFAYETTE BY GENERAL WASHINGTON

They form part of a collection being made of Lafayette relics to be kept in the Museum of the Château. Other articles include one of Benjamin Franklin's rings and lockets containing some of the hair of George and Martha Washington, also (on the left) box made from tree planted by Penn and (on the right) snuff-box presented to Lafayette by the city of New York. Miss Clara G. Perry, of Boston, has loaned to the Massachusetts Historical Society many interesting objects from Chavaniac dating back to Lafayette's days.

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

VIEW OF ONE OF THE DINING ROOMS OF THE CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC

still plough and sow the rich fields or tend their flocks and herds on the lovely rolling hills of the Auvergne of "other times." Far away in the pale blue distance stands the same round Puy-de-Dôme on which Lafayette must have often gazed with honest admiration.

Today the long-silent and sombre château is the scene of the most astonishing activity and animation. The most powerful queen of the fairies, whose magic wand changed beggars into princes and hovels into palaces, could not have worked a greater marvel. The yawning cracks in the crumbling walls have been filled with firm cement; the humid kitchens and mildewed cellars have yielded to the force of stout bricks and wholesome paint. The rotting floors of the ancient halls and chambers have been replaced by beautiful strips of oak, all even and shiny. Old doors are done in soft gray colors; musty walls are warm in delicate tints and fresh enamels; an electric system supplants the wax and tallow candles of Lafayette's time and sheds light into corners where darkness has reigned since the very day when the walls were first raised. And there are bathrooms and showers. In the kitchens are long steel ranges, tiled sinks and drainboards, every modern means for making the dreary work of cooking a pleasure. Generous refrigerators have done away with the mouldy cooling cellars.

Outside, the courtyard and fountain will soon be transformed into a spacious park. Stables and cowsheds have been relegated to far-away corners, and in their place stands a concrete garage with fireproof doors and no end of equipment. The weedgrown terrace is slowly turning into a rich conventional garden from which one looks down on to two of the emerald greens of the nine-hole golf course. In the lower field is a huge open-air swimming-tank, on one side of which is a group of tennis courts, the best which the needs of the game have developed. A little farther on is the laundry with modern washers, driers and pressers and a fifteen-foot mangle. High on a hill toward the east is the school building with airy classrooms, comfortable study and huge athletic field equipped for all sorts of sport, and in an accompanying illustration one can see the French boys playing the game of baseball. Just beyond it is the "Preventorium" where two hundred or so dwarfed, misshapen, undernourished and pretubercular children are nursed and fed into hardy, normal boyhood and girlhood.

Here in brief is the story of this strange metamorphosis: Early in April, 1916, when the war was claiming its daily toll of thousands, some Americans who had never forgotten France's great contribution to our freedom, heard that Chavaniac—the birthplace of the first great Franco-American citizen—was for sale. The work of relief for the war sufferers, which they were carrying on, urgently demanded immediate quarters for the ever-increasing number of refugees from the constantly widening war zone. Here was a chance to meet that demand and at the same time to set up a lasting memorial to one of the great souls of our Republic. In one sense it was a pity that the château of the good General had to pass out of the hands of his family which has always held his memory in such high esteem, but since this had to be, it is a curious and happy coincidence that it fell to a little group of Americans who brought it the same tender care which we pay to Mount Vernon and at the same time put it to work in a great cause for a desperate need.

This is not the place to tell of the work of this group, besides, the "Lafayette Memorial Fund" needs no advertising. As the war went on, the château overflowed into the surrounding villages, where little branch colonies were established. Then when peace came and some degree of order was established, the work at the château took form and the plans for its development were launched. Today it is an orphanage for the children of those French heroes who died on the field of honor. To this limited category are added from time to time a few child-refugees from the stricken districts of Europe, such as Russia and Poland. Orphanage

Kindness of Mrs. William Astor Chanler and Charles E. Kelley

BATH TUB AT CHÂTEAU CHAVANIAC IN WHICH LAFAYETTE BATHED DURING THE EARLIER YEARS OF HIS LIFE

It is still there, though in a new location, and is one of the interesting curiosities shown to the many visitors.

in name only! It is in reality a genuine home, a veritable fairyland, for three hundred or so children —"Lafayette boys," they call themselves. It would not be hard to imagine the thoughts of the kiddies who come, many ailing and underfed, from the dark cities and from homes of poverty to the bounty and cheer of Chavaniac-Lafayette. And if all this is done as a labor of love, the founders and managers have not forgotten that life is a very exacting business, and that preparation for it means discipline and order.

Little by little a chosen committee is gathering together the scattered souvenirs of Lafayette. Many of the rooms have been restored as they were in the General's time. Already some of the articles mentioned above in Monsieur Mosnier's summary, have been found and purchased; others have been given. Thirteen of the restored rooms have been named after the thirteen States of the Union which Lafayette knew.

It has been necessary to do much renovating and to make some improvements from the days when Lafayette made use of the bathtub shown in an illustration. There is a cult which holds that all antiquities should be the incarnation of discomfort, but those who have looked deep into the life of Lafayette know that he would have been the first to adopt ordinary means of comfort and livableness.

If the spirits of the departed do walk this earth, as we are told,—if, perchance, according to the recent doctrines, they dwell here among us with only the veil of the material lifted,—it is certain that the General spends much time at Chavaniac. There his fondest dreams are being fulfilled, and his name is the symbol of bounty, of opportunity and of healing. There the happy laughter of children rings through the halls in the silence of which he and his little cousin passed their cheerless childhood. Long years ago when there was a famine in the land, he said that it was the time to *give* his grain. That is the spirit of Chavaniac-Lafayette, for the French Heroes,—a Lafayette memorial! Surely the benediction of the kindly, noble Lafayette is upon it.

It was not until 1880, when fifty years had enriched the memory of Lafayette, that the little city of Le Puy decided to honor the greatest son of the Department of which the city was the capital. In that year a public subscription was opened and nearly five thousand francs was pledged. This substantial sum called forth a very generous response from the Government, which was to supplement the subscription with an additional twenty-four hundred francs. In February, 1882, a statue was ordered, and by September of the next year the work was ready for inauguration. The sixth day of the month was chosen, as it was Lafayette's birthday, and the ceremonies were planned with all the pomp and glory that is so dear to the heart of the bourgeoisie. France joined with the little city in making the occasion one which was long remembered.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

STATUE OF LAFAYETTE AT LE PUY, FRANCE

Le Puy was the capital of the Province, where Chavaniac was situated, Auvergne now being split up into three parts. Le Puy is the largest city near Chavaniac. The statue was erected by public subscriptions, assisted by the government of Le Puy. It was done by Paul W. Bartlett and the architect was Thomas Hastings. It was dedicated on Lafayette's birthday in the year 1882. On one side appear the words "Indépendance Américaine."

The inscription on the front of the pedestal shown on the preceding page reads:

À Lafayette "Je vous apporte une cocarde qui fera Le Tour du Monde"

On the back of the pedestal:

DECLARATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN

On the right:

Chavaniac 6 Septembre 1757
Paris 20 Mai 1834

On the left:

Indépendance Américaine
1777–1782

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the late Marquis de Lasteyrie*

WESTERN VIEW OF LAGRANGE

THE HOUSE IN WHICH LAFAYETTE DIED

BY PAUL F. CADMAN

NO country is more generous in the outward expression of its hero-worship than is France. It is not enough to erect statues to the illustrious in public squares or to fill the niches of town halls and libraries with busts, but, besides this, the very ground on which the illustrious trod is sufficiently sacred to bear a memorial. Hence it is that one finds in an obscure street in the Latin Quarter a tablet certifying that Victor Hugo spent several years of his childhood in a building which in all probability occupied the site of the present edifice. There is something noble in this, for it seems to say, "The glory of the Country is the glory of Her sons."

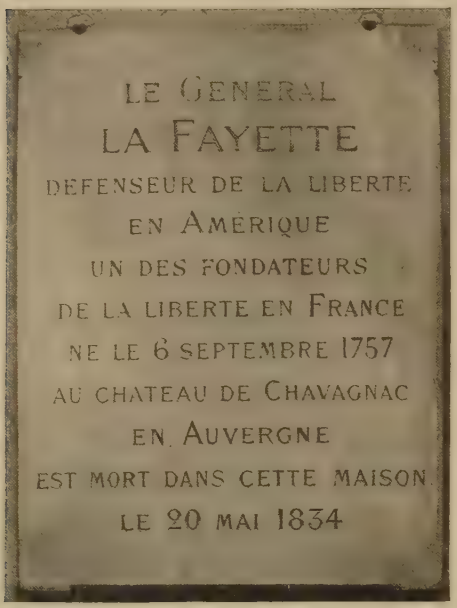
The Rue d'Anjou runs parallel to the Madeleine from the Boulevard Haussmann to the Faubourg St. Honoré. It is a narrow street, dark, yet clean, and not overburdened with traffic. From the Faubourg St. Honoré the first building on the left is the town hall of the eighth ward of the city of Paris, and almost immediately opposite the entrance to this building is the "hôtel" numbered 8, where Lafayette spent the last seven years of his turbulent life. "Hôtel," it might be added in this case, means simply a residence. A modest tablet, shown in an illustration, proclaims to the passer-by that this is holy ground and that this rather commonplace dwelling must not be treated with the careless indifference accorded to houses in general. The inscription translated into English reads "General La Fayette, defender of Liberty in America, one of the founders of Liberty in France, born the 6th September, 1757, at the Château of Chavaniac in Auvergne, died in this house 20th May, 1834." Lafayette also lived for a time in the "Hôtel" de Noailles, now No. 1, Rue de la Pompe, and on his return from America he resided at 123 Rue de Lille, then 81 Rue de Bourbon.

Although France thus tenderly marks the footprints where her honored sons have trod, it does not always follow that the keepers of the shrines are as sympathetic. No doubt the good concierge at No. 8 Rue d'Anjou has long since grown weary of saying, "No, there are no souvenirs here of Lafayette other than the plaque." Happily for us, Monsieur Georges Hartmann, an eminent savant and a member of the Commission du Vieux Paris, has recently published a monograph, dispelling the dark clouds which have hung over the "Hôtel" No. 8 and

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris Kindness of Paul F. Cadman

THE "HÔTEL," OR HOUSE, OFTEN CALLED "LA MAISON MORTUAIRE," AT NO. 8 RUE D'ANJOU, PARIS, IN WHICH LAFAYETTE SPENT THE LAST SEVEN YEARS OF HIS LIFE AND IN WHICH HE DIED

In his apartment here the French General received many Americans and held many dinner parties. Rue d'Anjou was at that time outside of the city limits, but was, nevertheless, in a very select location. It runs parallel to the Madeleine from the Boulevard Haussmann to the Faubourg St. Honoré. It is uncertain as to the room in which he died. The street was so narrow that our photographer was obliged to take this view at an angle. The inscription on the tablet is shown in the next illustration.



Photographed by Giraudon, Paris Kindness of Paul F. Cadman

PLAQUE ON THE HOUSE AT NO. 8 RUE D'ANJOU, PARIS,

showing the inscription relative to Lafayette's death.

putting to rout the doleful "pas possible" of the weary keeper of the gate. According to Monsieur Hartmann's study, the Rue d'Anjou had its beginnings in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The Faubourg St. Honoré was a very select quarter especially after Madame de Pompadour and her suite took up their residence there, while the Rue d'Anjou shared in this glory and was early settled by persons of importance. The building which is now No. 8 was probably built in 1725 in the palmiest days of the district. Both the Faubourg St. Honoré and the Rue d'Anjou were then outside the city walls, although they had been proclaimed a part of the métropole by municipal decree in 1722. Monsieur Hartmann's monograph traces the history of No. 8 through more than a century of illustrious names and events until 1827, when the name of "Monsieur Lafayette père, lieutenant général" first appears. Legend has it that the Countess of Tesse, Lafayette's aunt, invited her nephew to take up his residence at her apartment, but the facts seem to prove definitely that the good Countess lived over in the Faubourg St. Germain and that Lafayette rented his modest apartment in the Rue d'Anjou very much as people rent apartments today when they are obliged to maintain a city dwelling.

In 1818 Lafayette had been elected deputy from the Department of the Sarthe, and at that time he took up a temporary residence at 35 Rue d'Anjou in order to be near his son, George Washington Lafayette, who was also a member of the Chamber. In 1824 the General failed to be re-elected, with the result that he was able to accept the invitation to visit the United States again. On his return to France he had been re-elected to the Chamber and had with great regret been obliged to divide his time between Lagrange and Paris, as already explained. During the Revolution of 1830 he was called to take command of the reorganized National Guard and it seems certain that he was for a time in a position to make himself head of the Government. When at last he declared himself for Louis Philippe, he was definitely appointed commander of the Guard. During the four years that followed he spent his time at Lagrange and at Paris, where his apartment in the Rue d'Anjou was the scene of many receptions and fêtes, always remarkable for their modesty and simplicity.

It was there that he received many foreigners and especially Americans. In fact, as one visitor put it, every traveller from this country who went to France felt that he had the right to visit Lafayette wherever he might be living at that time. This same visitor learned that two or three persons a week visited his Rue d'Anjou dwelling or Lagrange, and as this particular person explained, "it was well both for the purse and the patience of the kind-hearted old man that ocean steamers were still a doubtful problem." A letter of J. Fenimore Cooper, who was a frequent visitor at No. 8, sheds a very interesting light on the life of the General in his Paris apartment.

Monsieur Hartmann again gives us these two delightful bits, one from the writings of

the Viscount de Beaumont-Vassy, who lived on the Rue d'Anjou in Lafayette's day, and the other from the celebrated Dr. Jules Cloquet:

"Beginning at eight o'clock in the evening, every Tuesday, a motley crowd which came on foot, in public cabs and in private carriages, without any ceremony mounted the staircase which was as plain as the apartment to which it led.

The first room, the dining room, had an austere appearance. From the dining room, one passed into the second room which was the parlor, and which was no less simply furnished than the first. In the dining room one rubbed elbows with all the celebrities of the time; in the parlor, a circle of grand dames and young débutantes caught the eye.

In a corner of this simple parlor, surrounded like some ancient patriarch by a triple file of friends and associates who hung on his every word, stood Monsieur La Fayette, his pale face surmounted by a brown wig, his tall figure bent with age. . . ."

Dr. Cloquet's letters to Mr. Townsend throw many happy lights on the General's daily life. Here is what he says of his personal appearance in the years just before his death:

"Lafayette was tall and well built. . . . strong head, oval and regular face; high, frank forehead; blue-grey eyes, large and shining, blonde eye-brows, well arched but not heavy; aquiline nose; a mouth which was always smiling and which scarcely ever opened except to say something kind and gracious; fair complexion, cheeks lightly colored, and at the age of 77 not a single wrinkle marred his face; his general expression was one of frankness and candor.

Lafayette preferred to live at Lagrange and to pass the winters in Paris. He always came to Paris for the sessions of the Chamber no matter what season it was. He lived in a part of a large hotel at number six (the number was later changed) rue d'Anjou, St. Honoré.

His apartment was on the first floor and consisted of a number of large rooms adjoining each other and stretching across the entire front of the building. The anteroom, the parlor, the study and the bedroom could be converted into a kind of gallery by opening large folding doors between them. This was frequently done on reception days.

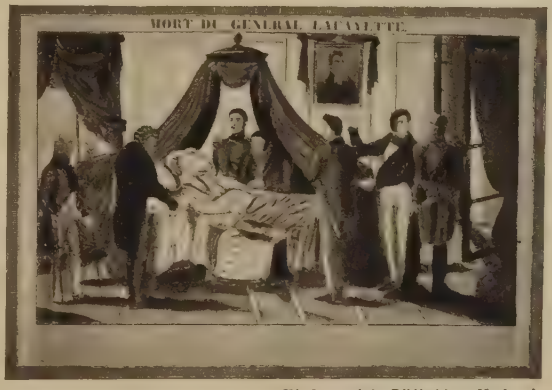
The order and cleanliness which ruled the château Lagrange, was maintained in Lafayette's Paris residence. . . ."

Again the Doctor says of him:

". . . a father adored by the family which he had brought up by his own example, a good husband, an indulgent master; his purse was always open to the needy."

Particularly interesting to us is this description of the room in which the General died, showing the many souvenirs of the United States always surrounding him:

"The room in which this excellent man, in the presence of his children and his friends, breathed his last, I wish to describe in detail . . . a bust of Washington modeled in clay by Houdon, over which hung a portrait of Koskiusko with the inscription: 'To General Lafayette, a birthday greeting to the illustrious defender of Polish Liberty' . . . a clock given to Lafayette by Madame de Tracy . . . under the dial of which was a bas relief of the capitulation of Cornwallis . . . an engraving showing the death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill. . . . An engraving of Washington's farewell address to the people of the United States . . . an engraving of the Declaration of Independence of the United States . . . and an engraving of the same subject offered by a resolution of the American Congress in May 1824 . . . a framed copy of the Constitution of the United States of North America. . . . "



Kindness of the Bibliothèque Nationale

DEATH OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE

From an old print in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Photographed for the State Street Trust Company by George B. Brayton

Kindness of Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston

BADGE WORN BY THE PEOPLE OF BOSTON ON THE COMMEMORATION IN FANEUIL HALL, SEPTEMBER 6, 1834, OF THE DEATH OF LAFAYETTE

The badge is photographed from the original diary of Miss E. S. Quincy, describing Lafayette's visit to Boston in the years 1824–5. This interesting diary, often quoted in the text herewith, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society, of Boston.

The Doctor gives a very tender picture of the last days of Lafayette. The General had contracted a serious illness while attending the funeral of a dear friend, and after a long time he seemed to be slowly regaining his health when he fell a victim to an exposure during a period of cold spring weather. From that time he started to decline, and all efforts to prolong his life were futile. Many loving hands ministered to him during those last days, but perhaps the most touching of all service was that given by his faithful valet Bastien, who would never leave his master, and who slept by his bedside so as to be ready for his every call. A little dog which had been given to Lafayette was so devoted to his master that he would never leave him. Dr. Cloquet remarks that the pet was a veritable thermometer of the General's condition, for he registered every change for better or for worse. The end came at 4.30 on the morning of May 20 in the year 1834. Twenty-seven years before, his beloved wife had passed on, leaving as her parting words to her children, "Je vous souhaite la paix du Seigneur," and to her husband, "Je suis toute à vous." That devotion had been wholly shared by Lafayette, and he had never ceased to mourn throughout those twenty-seven years of separation.

The funeral services were held on the 22d, and both official and unofficial Paris came as one to offer homage to the great citizen. The hearse was escorted by a company of the National Guard in deep mourning, and immediately following the funeral carriage was the faithful Bastien carrying Lafayette's sword and epaulettes of the National Guard. A great crowd followed to the Church of the Assumption, where the funeral mass was said; then the cortège proceeded via the Place Vendôme, Rue de la Paix and past the Place de la Bastille to the little cemetery of Picpus, passing all the way through the silent genuine respect of the entire population of Paris. The Boston City Council on the Fourth of July passed suitable resolutions and recommended that all citizens wear a badge of mourning for thirty days.

It is of interest to New Englanders to know that on the Fourth of July in the year before his death he dined with about one hundred members of the American colony, Ralph Waldo Emerson being one of the guests.

THE CEMETERY OF PICPUS AND THE TOMB OF LAFAYETTE

BY PAUL F. CADMAN

THERE are many shrines in Paris today before which the memorial fires are ever aglow, but there is one where scarce a hundred pilgrims pass in the cycle of the year —the tiny cemetery of Picpus. Those who have followed, breathless, the merciless, inexorable Javet as he pursued Jean Valjean and Cosette through the streets of Paris, will remember the sigh of relief that came when the mighty Jean scaled the walls of the little Convent of Picpus and planted himself and his charge in at least a temporary refuge. The event and the three or four chapters which Victor Hugo spends in a minute description, not only of the place but of the order and all its workings, are quite enough to secure the immortality of the spot. One might well offer homage to the ragged little shack which is today called the "grotto of Jean Valjean." To be sure, it serves as a tool shed for the cemetery gardener, and granted it has a new roof and some obviously modern fixings,—to one soul at least, the good concierge who tells the tale, it is the very spot where Jean Valjean shared the humble hospitality of the old wagoner whose life he had saved with such peerless sacrifice.

Picpus has another claim on perpetual renown, for it is the final resting-place of more than a thousand victims of the hideous guillotine of the most barbarous days of the Terror. And finally, it is the last earthly home of more than twoscore of the noblest families of France. As one writer says, it is a kind of Pantheon of the purest aristocracy of France, and one after another, the whole armorial of France is represented there. Foremost among these is the name of Lafayette, and therein lies our special interest.

On an old map of Paris, dated 1615, far outside the city walls and well on the way to the famous Château de Vincennes, there is indicated a small chapel enclosed in cloister walls, called Picque-Puce-les-Paris. This convent was probably founded by the Italian Capucines who came to Paris during the reign of Catherine de Medici, but later the Queen Mother had the Order housed in more elegant quarters in the Faubourg St. Honoré. Then it grew top-heavy and unwieldy, and finally it divided into four shoots, one of which became the famous Récollet Order which had its parent house in Paris, but which established the branch at Brouage from which Samuel Champlain took his friar assistants to Canada, as will be described more fully in another booklet. Still another branch of the original Capucine Order went back to the first settlement and under one Vincent Massart founded a powerful chapter which ran a long and astonishing course.

One of the ingenious guessers as to the origins of things offers this solution as to the origin of the name Picpus. It is not a pretty story, but it probably has at least a modicum of truth, as witnessed by the original spelling on the map cited above. It seems that a terrible epidemic of pox broke out in the city, a kind of eczema which attacked only women and children, and which left on their arms and faces little

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris — *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

EMBLEM OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

placed in the fence beside the tomb of Lafayette and his wife.

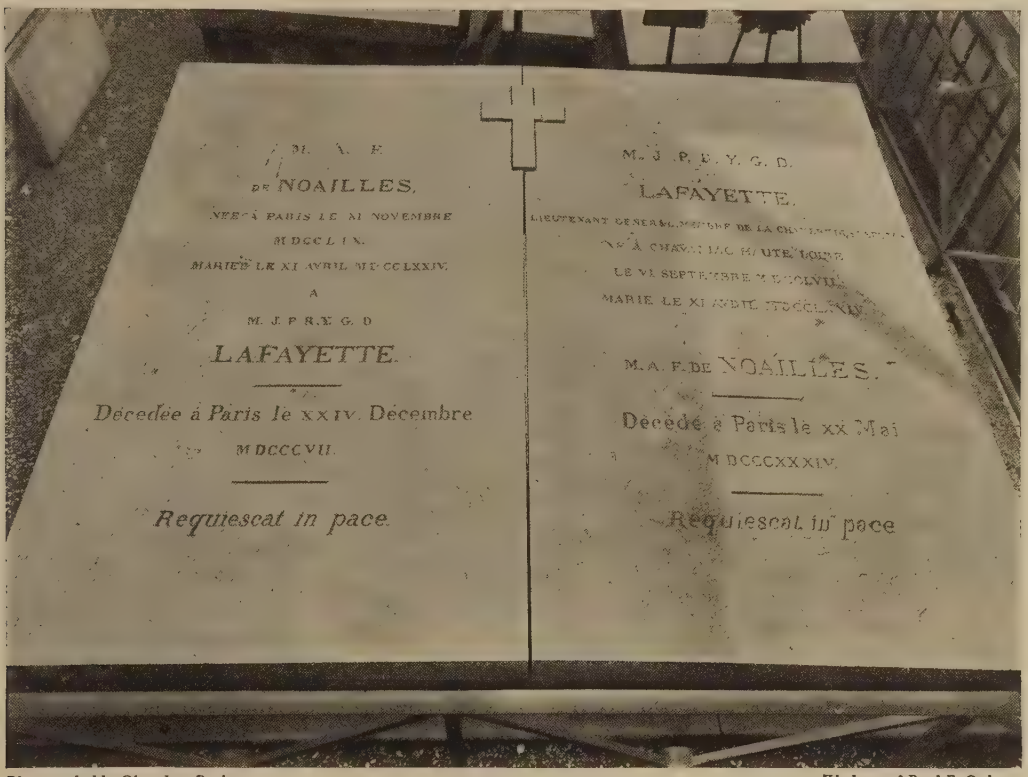
Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

BURIAL PLACE OF LAFAYETTE AND HIS WIFE IN PICPUS CEMETERY, PARIS

Beyond the grill is the little enclosure where lie the bodies of the 1306 victims of the guillotine. Marquis de Lasteyrie, who died only a few years ago, was the last descendant of Lafayette who had the right to be buried in Picpus Cemetery by agreement with the Picpus Society. The name Picpus means literally "fleabite" and was originated at the time of a plague in Paris, which left on its victims marks resembling a fleabite. A certain person invented a lotion to remove these blemishes and this name of "Picque Puce" was first given to him, then to the Convent near by, and finally to the surrounding region. The Rue Picpus is today within the city walls and is near the Place de la Nation, called during the French Revolution Place du Trône Renversée. The burial place of the guillotine victims was by chance discovered by the Duchesse D'Ayen, a niece of Lafayette. The Stars and Stripes fly continually over Lafayette's tomb.

red scars resembling fleabites. A certain brother of Massart's order discovered, or indeed invented, a perfumed lotion, "liqueur parfumée," which both cured and removed the blemish; hence the name Picque Puce, literally "fleabite," which attached itself first to the brother, then to the Convent, and finally to the entire region around the Convent.

At all events, the unpleasantness of the name in no way detracted from the popularity of the Order, which was speedily enriched by handsome gifts and generous endowments. The splendid library and the collection of rare presents, "les merveilles de Picpus," were talked of everywhere. It is said that Henry IV made the Convent his favorite hunting rendezvous and that Louis XIII endowed a chapel there. Such benefits led to power, and power to abuse, the Convent finally becoming an organ of political ambition and intrigue. It was recognized as the proper headquarters for all visiting Catholic dignitaries both lay and ecclesiastical. In 1721 there was much embarrassment caused by the visit of one Ali Mohammed, a Turkish ambassador. Of course Picpus could not house an infidel, so he was happily lodged in a house



Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

A CLOSER VIEW OF THE TOMBSTONES OF LAFAYETTE AND MADAME LAFAYETTE, IN PICPUS CEMETERY, PARIS

in the Faubourg St. Honoré and was kept in ignorance that the said dwelling was thereafter known as "la maison du diable."

Among the other glories of the Convent in the days of Massart was the vegetable garden. The friars had genii among their gardeners; the "primeurs" were sung by the poets, and the salads of Picpus were like the grapes of Malaga or the figs of Smyrna.

Soon other religious orders sprang up in the same region, and suburban homes of the wealthy began to appear; indeed, the quarter became so popular that the King was obliged to prohibit further building. Among the newcomers were the Chanoinesses de St. Augustin, whose duty was to celebrate perpetually the victory of Juan d'Austriche over the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto. At the opening of the Revolution, Picpus was a centre of religious, political and royalist activity. No wonder that the brutality and violence of the Terror fell heavily on the little community.

During the early days of the Terror, the guillotine was placed in the Place de la Revolution, today the Place de la Concorde, but the merchants of the Rue St. Honoré complained that the passing of the bloody chariots all day long ruined their business. In fact, these "petits commerçants" knew too well that there were formidable bandits in every bawling crowd that passed. In the horrible summer of 1794, Robespierre had the guillotine moved out to the end of the Faubourg St. Antoine to a place called the Place du Trône, which was renamed

From a copyrighted photograph by Agence Rol, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

GENERAL PERSHING, GENERAL HARBORD, OF BELLEAU WOODS FAME, THE MARQUIS DE CHAMBRUN, AND COLONEL COUNT DE CHAMBRUN, THE TWO LATTER RELATIVES OF LAFAYETTE, AT THE TOMB OF LAFAYETTE

by the Revolutionists La Place du Trône Renversée, which might be translated "the Square of the Throne Overthrown." This Square was not far from the convents and monasteries of the Rue Picpus. Already in 1791 the Convent of the Chanoinesses de St. Augustin had been closed and the sisters driven away, the monastery suffering a similar fate. As the Revolutionary knife continued its bloody work, it was necessary to find a place to bury the victims. So intense was the hatred of everything titled and royal, that even the decapitated bodies were disgraced and their resting-place was kept secret under pain of serious punishment. Behind the little Convent of the Chanoinesses, in what is sometimes described as their cemetery and elsewhere as a quarry, a large pit was dug. Here, according to Louis Madelin, in exactly forty-four days, the bodies of thirteen hundred and six victims were thrown, and among these, the last prey of the guillotine, there was truly the flower of France. History has told of the noble dying of these brave souls.

Ancestor worship is frequently mentioned as a Chinese or Japanese institution, but the adoration of the dead is no less surely a Latin characteristic, and there is no Latin country where the dead are more revered than in France. Little wonder, then, that the families of the murdered nobility who had fled from France to take refuge in foreign lands came back as soon as it was safe to begin the search for the remains of their loved ones. To the desolation of this terrible bereavement was added the bitterness of not knowing where the precious remains could be found. Among the most illustrious of those whose remains were thrown

From a copyrighted photograph by Agence Rol, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION AT THE TOMB OF LAFAYETTE, IN PICPUS CEMETERY, PARIS, AUGUST 26, 1921

into the common trench of Picpus were the mother and sister of Madame Lafayette. There is dramatic interest in the story of how the daughter of the Duchesse d'Ayen, the niece of Lafayette, discovered the cemetery of Picpus. By the rarest hazard she met a poor working-girl, a Mademoiselle Paris, whose father and brother had been attached to the house of the Duc de Brissac. These faithful servants perished with their master, and the distracted sister and daughter, who had witnessed the terrible scene, followed the chariot to the cemetery. From that day she had come regularly to offer up her prayers and her griefs before the graves of her people. This child brought Madame de Montagu and Madame Lafayette to the place, and it was in this way that the tomb of the thirteen hundred and six was discovered.

A movement was immediately set on foot to buy the property and to conserve it as sacred ground. In 1801 this was accomplished, and furthermore, the former Convent of the Chanoinesses was rehabilitated and made the Parent House of the Order of the Sacred Heart, whose gentle sisters were to combine with their other duties the care of the sacred cemetery and the devotional offering of prayer for the souls of the "suppliciés." Just outside the little square where the guillotined are buried was set aside a small plot of ground, and here the immediate families of these nobles have secured the right to bury their dead up to and including the fourth generation. This is why the tomb of Lafayette and also those of his devoted wife and his son and daughter are found in Picpus.

There is strange pathos in the situation. There, right next to the gate and the walls

that enclose the last victims of the guillotine, lies the body of the man who contributed much to the freeing of the forces which caused the terrible violence that destroyed those dearest to him. Yet the life of the General and his ideal of liberty were so pure, that not one of his fellow-sufferers ever accused him of being one of that lawless mob or of those misguided leaders who wrought such horrors in the name of liberty.

Today, Picpus is well inside the city walls. La Place du Trône Renversée has become the Place de la Nation, and near this is the modest little Rue Picpus. A wholly unassuming little door opens into a court which is flanked by the Convent of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. In the chapel by the nunnery these pious women carry on their devotions, and at regular seasons offer up a sacrifice of prayer for the repose of the souls of the tenants of the Champs des Martyrs. Just behind the chapel are the little fruit and vegetable gardens, worked by the gardener-nuns and renowned as of old for their excellent produce. There is the "grotte de Jean Valjean," and in a far corner of the grounds is the little cemetery which has been the subject of this telling.

Behind the tomb of Lafayette, on a small staff, hangs the Stars and Stripes. Some of our own soil was sent to be mingled with that which covers the casket of the patriot. It is a bit of us in France. This shrine is a symbol of all that is beautiful and lasting and holy in Franco-American friendships. It is a place where the American pilgrim in Paris can go to offer up an act of love and say a prayer before the tomb of one of the godfathers of our Nation.

Kindness of George R. King

MARKER AT BRANDYWINE, PENNSYLVANIA

where Lafayette was wounded.

THE PROPOSED MONUMENT AT POINTE DE GRAVE, FRANCE, TO COMMEMORATE THE SAILING OF LAFAYETTE AND THE ENTRANCE OF AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR

(WRITTEN IN LARGE PART BY PAUL F. CADMAN)

IN spite of the official disapproval of Lafayette's coming to this country, there was nevertheless a keen national concern in the venture; more than this, there was a sporting interest in the youth, a kind of gleeful jubilation over such delicious boldness. Indeed, it is somewhat awful to speculate on the "what-might-have-been" had the youthful soldier strictly obeyed orders and yielded to the claims of a beautiful bride and the charms of a very happy home. If it seemed ridiculous to many for a lad of eighteen to have the promise of the rank of lieutenant-general in the far-away army of the Colonies, it did not seem so to the keen-eyed Franklin, who saw the possibilities of the prestige of his family and his fortune.

The first signs of active resistance by the people of Boston against the Mother Country were noted in France with the keenest interest. That country was then suffering from the great humiliation of the treaty of 1763 which had deprived her of Canada and Newfoundland, and the enthusiasm for the revolting Colonies was all the more keen, taking all sorts of weird forms of expression. To show their interest in their friends across the Atlantic the grand ladies of Paris had their hair dressed *à la Bostonnaise*, or sometimes with thirteen curls which they called "Independence," pastry cooks made marvellous creations celebrating the courageous Americans, and it is recorded that the staid English game of whist was revised and renamed "Bostonnais," becoming immediately the rage of the salons. This word in Paris was used in speaking of the inhabitants of any of the thirteen States. To go back still farther, it is claimed by some that this, or another game called "Boston," was invented either before or during Revolutionary days by some French prisoners held in captivity in an old Paine house at Prides Crossing, Massachusetts, now no longer standing. This house was under the old French Fort, so called, the latter being on the property of F. L. Higginson and still preserved by him much as it was during the French and Indian war of 1756–1763, when it was probably erected to protect Salem Harbour, at that time more important commercially than Boston. To while away their time, these French officers played a game they called "Boston," introducing the terms "Great Misery" and "Little Misery," named for the two well-known islands almost directly opposite; another expression, "Slam," used also in the process of play, being a word derived from the near-by town of Salem. Another authority believes that the game was invented by French officers on a man-of-war anchored off the Paine estate, while Dr. Samuel A. Green thought it originated with the French officers on board the fleet which blockaded Boston Harbour. The Century Dictionary says that the game was invented in Boston during the Revolutionary War. This game was also played a great deal at Philadelphia, even in more recent years, and one Bostonian in speaking of it recalled to the writer that it cost him several hundred dollars for a few minutes' instruction as to its intricacies. Some of the older inhabitants of Prides Crossing remember a small fortification on the shore near Mrs. Lucius M. Sargent's house, in front of Mr. Higginson's, erected there to protect the landing-place which consisted at one time of an old wharf.

Samuel Breck in his "Recollections" makes mention of this game and the rage in Paris for all things American:

Kindness of Paul F. Cadman

VILLAGE OF PAUILLAC, FRANCE

where Lafayette joined his vessel, the "Victoire," in order to sail to America. He had to abandon this project and return to Bordeaux. He finally set out from Pasajes, a Spanish port, his ship meeting him there.

"It was indeed by the name of Bostonian that all Americans were known in France then. The war having broken out in Boston, and the first great battle fought in its neighborhood, gave to that name universal celebrity. I remember a song that was in fashion, the chorus of which was:

'Bon, Bon, Bon,
C'est à Boston
Qu'on entend souflé les canons.'

Coffee-houses took that name, and a game invented at that time, played with cards, was called 'Boston', and is to this day exceedingly fashionable at Paris by that appellation."

Dr. Green some years ago stated that the Comte de Ségur in his memoirs gave to Franklin the credit of introducing the game into the Salons of Versailles. There was also a book written about it, entitled "Manuel des jeux de Boston, Boston de Fontainebleau," etc., which declares that "it is American in its origin, and dates from the War of Independence, taking the place of whist, which at that time was the popular game in the New World." Dr. Green also explains that this "game of cards was invented in Versailles, and called, in honor of the town, Boston; . . . it is still partially in use in France, but in every circle in the north of Europe, from Amsterdam to St. Petersburgh, 'Boston' is now almost the exclusive game."

To go back to the days of Lafayette, there is an interesting, perhaps legendary, story about his coat of arms. Needless to say, up to the time of his departure he had piously used the arms of his ancient family. When he first asked himself the question, "Shall I go to America?" he made his own reply, "Why not?"—which words he translated later into Latin—"Cur Non?" and included in the family seal, shown in an illustration. Years afterwards, when his ideas of equality and liberty had been so vigorously expressed, he dropped the use of the family arms entirely and used only a simple monogram enclosed in a circle which bore the little legend: "Cur Non?" Hence the book from the Lagrange library belongs to the transition period and was probably acquired before he gave up the use of the family arms.

Lafayette is said to have had an annual income of more than one hundred and fifty thousand francs a year at the time of his marriage, an enormous fortune for the time. Only such wealth could have made possible the launching of a private enterprise on such a scale. A friend of his, de Boismartin, made a contract with the firm of Bosmorin & Raimbeaux at Bordeaux whereby a ship was to be ready for the month of March, 1777, in consideration of one hundred and twelve thousand francs, one-fourth in cash and the balance in fifteen months. When all was ready, Lafayette came from England, passed several days in hiding in Paris, and set out with de Kalb for Bordeaux under pretext of visiting his uncle, the Count de Mouchy, who was Intendant of the province of Guyenne. Once arrived at Bordeaux he found the ship in readiness. Happily the act of embarkation, discovered at Guyenne, is preserved to us and was on exhibition at the Bordeaux fair, where our Government erected as its pavilion a model of the White House:

"I attest that the Sieur Gilbert du Mottie, chevalier de Chavaillac [Note: The Act was drawn up by the ship's captain, Lebourcier. It should read: Gilbert de Motier, chevalier de Chavaniac. The word Chavaniac was variously spelled.], twenty years of age, tall and of blond hair, Jean Simon Camu de la Villedieu en Franche-Comté, age 32, middle sized and of blond hair, with the Chevalier, Michel Moteau de Sarclay from near Paris, age twenty-seven, middle sized and of blond hair, in the same party, Francis Aman Rogé from Nantes, age twenty, middle sized and of blond hair, in the party of Monsieur le Baron de Caune, and Antoine Redon de Sarlat, twenty-two years of age, middle sized and chestnut hair, are catholics [of good standing—'ancien'] wishing to embark on the 'Victoire,' captained by Lebourcier, bound for Cap [Cape Town] where they are going on business.

At Bordx the 22 march 1777.

Signed: GILBERT DU MOTTIER et J. S. CAMUS."

Four days later the "Victoire" started down the Garonne towards the sea, but Lafayette was not on board. He had come to understand thoroughly the need of the utmost secrecy in his movements, and accordingly he went overland to the little pilot port of Pauillac, where he joined his ship. The plan was to make port at Pasajes, a little harbour near St. Sebastien in Spain, to make the last point of departure from there. The "Victoire" sailed valiantly out of the mouth of the Gironde, past the Pointe de Grave, and on to the Spanish port. There, alas, was an order directing Lafayette to abandon his project and to report at once for duty in Italy and to join his father-in-law at Marseilles. Direct disobedience to a royal order would have been almost as bad as desertion and would have had serious consequences, therefore Lafayette was obliged to return to Bordeaux. He was careful, however, to leave his ship in readiness at Pasajes, in command of de Kalb, who did not hesitate to express his doubts as to Lafayette's return.

At Bordeaux, Lafayette was unable to secure an authorization to depart, but he did learn that the chief opposition to his voyage was that of his father-in-law, who was furious at his practically abandoning his young wife. He also learned that both the Government and popular opinion were in favor of his venture, but that officially it would be necessary to make every open attempt to arrest him and prevent his sailing. Formally he was forbidden to go, but if he succeeded in getting away, he would not be held responsible for desertion, and the unofficial blessing of the whole country would go with him. Accordingly, he disguised himself as a messenger and set out on horseback for the Spanish border. At an *auberge* in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, he was recognized by a young woman who knew him, but happily she understood the sign which he made with his head, and held her peace. On April 17th he reached Pasajes and on the 20th the "Victoire," under Captain Lebourcier, sailed for America.

To understand the joy and pride that France has in her heroes, is to understand France. The *Patrie* claims them first and honors them with full measure, then the provinces or the departments from which they come add to the memorials and render them reverence; their cities adore them, and the houses in which they are born become sacred ground, holy shrines. The Auvergne gave Lafayette birth, and today, Pau, the chief city of the department which covers that ancient province, honors him with a magnificent statue. Paris remembers his stay there by one of the principal avenues of thoroughfare, the Boulevard Lafayette, and also by the plaque on the house in the Rue d'Anjou where he died (described in another chapter), and again in the group of noble figures on the façade of the Pantheon, the national "Hall of Fame." The department of the Seine and Marne has the very great glory of Lagrange as a lasting memorial; and what school-child of the Gironde does not know that Lafayette's ship sailed from Bordeaux? In fact, all the good people on that little peninsula which runs from Bordeaux to Pointe de Grave claim a part in the glory of the hero.

Bordeaux boasts a very noble pedigree. From the very earliest period of authentic history, a settlement is recorded on the site of the present city. Fifty-six years Before Christ there was a prosperous Roman city which bore the same name and which enjoyed the beauty of Roman temples, villas and amphitheatres. This was the capital of that famous province of "Aquitaine." Through all the glories of Imperial Rome, through all the fortunes and misfortunes of the invasions and the wars of the Middle Ages, throughout the turbulent history of the very Land of France, Bordeaux has maintained a safe position of wealth and security. Situated on a great river, the Garonne, near its junction with the equally great Dordogne, its maritime importance is assured. The two rivers flow into that immense inland bay which is also called the Gironde, and whose tidewaters will float the largest bottoms to the very quays of the city. In Lafayette's day the city was at the zenith of its prosperity under the ancient régime; its population was well over one hundred and ten thousand, and the commerce in foodstuffs and wine was perhaps the most important in all France. Louis XVI's ships sailed daily with cargoes of wine, flour, lard and the salt meats for Ireland, cloth goods and arms for the Antilles—and the same ships returned laden with rum, sugar, coffee, indigo and cotton. Nor was commerce the whole inspiration of the city's life. The Academy of Bordeaux, of which Montesquieu was once the most famous member, has already celebrated its two hundredth anniversary. Another interesting fact in connection with the French seaport is that Augustin de la Brue, who hailed from there, commanded a regiment of Bourbonnais at Yorktown. Such was the port from which the "Victoire" put out for America and in a cut of an old print is shown the dock from which Lafayette sailed.

In 1907, when the city was celebrating one of its many famous maritime expositions, the United States erected, as its official contribution, a miniature model of the White House on the very site from which the "Victoire" sailed. At this same exposition the Act of Embarkation quoted above was one of the documents of universal interest.

In the century and a half since Lafayette's first sailing, Bordeaux has become one of the foremost ports of Europe. During the World War, when the northern ports were threatened by the submarine peril, Bordeaux was able to handle by far the greater bulk of all the passenger and freight traffic, not only of France, but of Europe. After the arrival of the first American forces, St. Nazaire was chosen as the chief port of American entry, principally because Bordeaux was already worked to capacity. Nevertheless, a very large and important American contingent served and worked at Bordeaux, and the city is proud of every memory of the American "occupation." Twenty kilometres from the city, the American engineers established the great wireless station which bears the name of "Lafayette" and which has become one of the most important of France; in fact, it is a lasting monument to the American presence. Its first messages were plainly received in San Francisco.

If Bordeaux is proud of its connections with Lafayette, there are at least three other communities that vie with her for their share of his glory. Pauillac, the little pilot-port halfway up the river-bay of the Gironde, takes its name from a Latin termination, "acum" or "anum," which probably meant "the domain of"—hence, "the domain of Paul." Whoever Paul may have been is not known, but the tiny village goes well back into the Roman period for the beginnings of its history, and it is indeed proud today of the fact that Lafayette embarked from its own little dock. Bordeaux may boast the sailing of the "Victoire," but the General actually sailed from Pauillac. There is also the tiny hamlet of Verdon, 'way up near the tip of the peninsula, into whose port the "Victoire" is said to have sailed; and finally, the station called Pointe de Grave, which marks the very land's end, which can neither be called a village

nor a hamlet, since there is nothing but a railroad station and a café and perhaps a baker's dozen of souls.

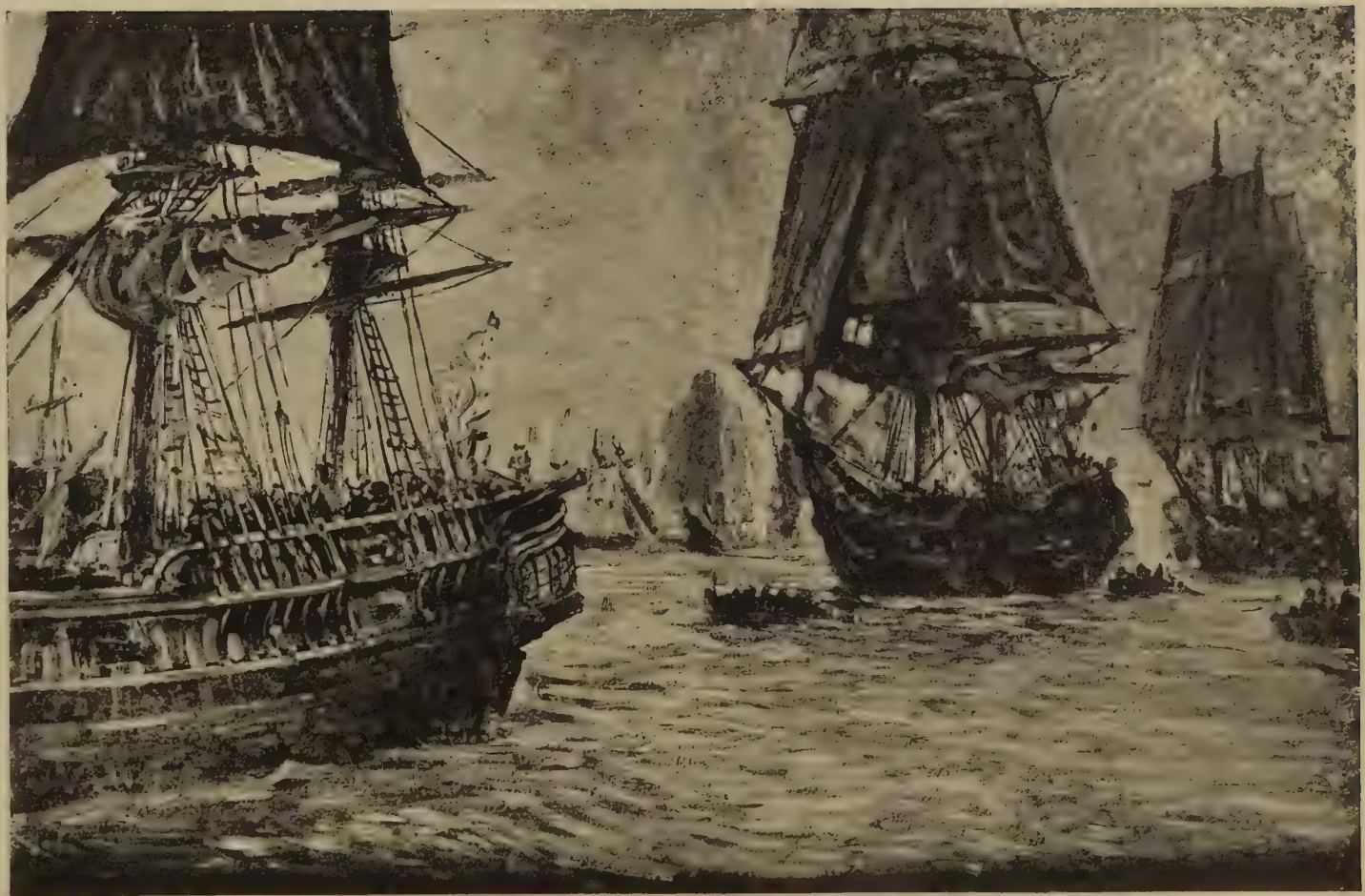
Much, perhaps too much, has been said about the reciprocity of America's entry into the war. It is certain that the event did have a very interesting historic connection with the enormous aid that France rendered America in the War of Independence. Perhaps after all, that War of Independence was more international than has been supposed. Whatever may have been the motives of the young Lafayette who sailed down the Gironde one hundred and forty years before our entrance into the World War, it is certain that he brought France to America and that the introduction was the beginning of a lasting alliance; and whatever may have been the politics that brought America into the World War, it is equally certain that she brought a great depth of *camaraderie* which had its beginnings one hundred and forty years before.

Kindness of the "Illustration"

PROJECT FOR THE MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED AT POINTE DE GRAVE, ON THE RIVER GIRONDE AND NEAR BORDEAUX, FRANCE,

to commemorate the intervention of America in the World War. It is a place near the spot past which Lafayette sailed for America in 1777 to enlist in our cause. Lafayette cable station to America is here.

More than four years ago a great project was formed to commemorate in a suitable way Franco-American friendship. On September 6, 1919, the one hundred and sixty-second anniversary of the birth of Lafayette, the anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, the tiny community of Pointe de Grave at the mouth of the Gironde witnessed the greatest celebration in all its history. Poincaré, the President of the French Republic, Hon. Hugh Wallace, the American Ambassador, and a whole host of war and peace dignitaries, including the Marquis de Chambrun and Mme. de Beaumont, both descendants of Lafayette, came in special trains and boats to inaugurate a monument commemorative of the sailing of Lafayette and also the intervention of America in the World War. With all the pomp and with all the fitting procedure, the first-stone of that monument was placed on Lafayette-Marne Day, September 6, 1919. It does not matter that the stone was set on a spot where the monument could not possibly be built, because such a spot was much more convenient for ceremonial purposes, for the Pointe de Grave is small enough so that the monument, on the scale of the project, will nearly cover it. The work has been intrusted to the aged sculptor Bartholomé, whose "Monument aux Morts" in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, long ago brought him the just laurels of artistic achievement. Unhappily the ugly complications of reparations and the menace of unbalanced budgets has greatly hindered the progress of the work which will probably cost some six millions of francs. The committee, however, is composed of men who will not fail in so noble a purpose, and therefore the ultimate success is assured. It seems none the less fitting that this monument should be erected at the mouth of the river from which sailed the bark of the greatest Franco-American citizen. The Lafayette Commemorative Monument will stand majestic-high and beautiful to every ship that goes in and out of the great southern gateway of France, a symbol of the real *rapprochement.*



Photographed by George B. Brayton from a painting by Carlton T. Chapman, now owned by the State Street Trust Company, purchased through the office of Max Williams of New York

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, JULY 11, 1780

The fleet consisted of forty-four vessels, bringing an army of about 5,000 men. This painting will be hung in the new offices of the State Street Trust Company.

ARRIVAL OF ROCHAMBEAU AND THE FRENCH ARMY AT NEWPORT

IN this chapter which treats of the departure and arrival of our French allies we shall endeavor to quote as frequently as possible from the diaries of the French officers accompanying the army. The French Government had just decided to send over a corps of twelve thousand men, in two divisions, and Rochambeau had accepted the command in spite of the fact that he was ill at the time. The first of these divisions, composed of just over five thousand land forces, "the troops of Doctor Franklin," as Voltaire amusingly expressed it, after a month of contrary winds sailed from Brest on May 2, 1780, under Admiral de Ternay, the wind being "*joli frais*" as Rochambeau's Aide, de Closen, expresses it. This same officer refers to the ships, most of which hailed from Bordeaux, as "detested sabots," meaning literally "wooden shoes" although Abbé Robin, who came over later, spoke of them as "enormous machines." First in interest appears to be the well-written and complete journal of Commissary-in-chief Claude Blanchard, a descendant of one of the French noble families, who thus refers to his departure:

"I was there also and embarked upon the Conquérant. On the first night I lay in the gun room with thirty or forty persons. The next day they prepared a little lodging place for me in the great cabin; that is where they eat. I lay there in a hammock, in the English fashion, over a cannon. I can write there, sitting on a portmanteau, and I have light through a port-hole. . . .

. . . M. de Tarlé, our commissary, who had embarked thereon, confirmed me in the belief that we were going to New England and that we would land at Rhode Island. I had always thought that such was our destination, inasmuch as we had embarked goods suitable for the savages, and which must be given to them in the intercourse that we might have with them. They dwell on the frontiers, as is known. . . .

. . . At this period, our real destination was unknown on board, and many persons supposed that we were going to Jamaica. . . .

On the 2nd [of June] we were sent on board the admiral's ship; there it was openly said that we were about to land at Newport on the island of Rhode Island."

The dead, according to Blanchard, were thrown into the sea through a port-hole in order to escape detection.

Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment, thus refers in his excellent memoirs to his departure:

"It was in the beginning of the year 1780 that the King determined to send troops to the aid of the United States of North America. The design was not made public; on the contrary, every possible precaution was taken to conceal the destination of the troops, who were about to receive the order of embarkation; and the regiments of Neustrie, Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Saint Onge, Anhalt, Royal Deux-Ponts, a battalion of artillery, and the legion of Lauzun, intended for this expedition, left their winter quarters where they had been stationed after the futile campaign of 1779, in perfect ignorance of the country whither they were going. . . . (*The Marquis de Lafayette alone knew this state secret.*)

. . . I reached Landernau on the 31st, where I found orders for our embarkation on the 4th of April, and I there learned the unfortunate necessity that compelled us to leave behind the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt for the want of means of transportation, and we left Landernau on the 4th of April. . . .

. . . On the 5th of May, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the frigate 'Bellone' left the squadron to return to France. . . . When the 'Bellone' left us, the flag-ship made the signal to put the crews on an allowance of water, from which we inferred that the voyage was to be a long one, and it increased still more the doubts as to our destination. I believe however that the intention of M. de Ternay in making this signal was to deceive the 'Bellone' as to the length of our voyage, so that her report would baffle still more the curiosity of politicians.

. . . On the 3d of June, while the squadron was lying to and the sea smooth, the Count de Dumas, my brother, and myself went on board of the 'Duc de Bourgogne' to visit the Count de Rochambeau, who told us that we were on our way to North America.

. . . On the 7th of July, the Chevalier de Ternay ordered on board of his ship all the captains of our ships of the line and frigates of the squadron, and told them, after a short council of war held with them, that he was taking us to Rhode Island."

While on the point of sailing the "Comtesse de Noailles" by running foul of the "Conquérant" broke her bowsprit, as well as her figurehead, which caused de Closen to explain that the "charming countess" was repaired all except her head, remaining without one "like so many other countesses" he knew.

Rochambeau gives an interesting list of some of the most important things to take on the voyage:

"A quantity of flints, . . . much flour and biscuit; have bricks as ballast for the ships, to be used for ovens; to try to bring with us all we want and not to have to ask from Americans who are themselves in want . . . to have a copy of the Atlas brought from Philadelphia by M. de La Fayette . . . to have a portable printing press like that of M. d' Estaing, handy for proclamations. (In another chapter we give a picture of the title page of one of these pamphlets from this press) . . . siege artillery is indispensable . . . We will pay our allies for everything, even the straw for the soldier. . . ."

It was a great disappointment to Rochambeau to be obliged to leave behind all the horses, including his own two favourite war chargers, which was necessitated by the fact that there were fewer transports than expected.

"I have to part company with two battle-horses that I can never replace," he writes. "I do so with the greatest sorrow, but I do not want to have to reproach myself with their having taken up the room of twenty men."

The sailing was a state secret; many realized they were to assist the Americans but knew not where, and, as will be seen by the diaries quoted, it was a month after leaving France before the soldiers were told that their destination was Rhode Island.

Ambassador Jusserand in his address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard in 1912 well expressed the obstacles that were met with by the expedition:

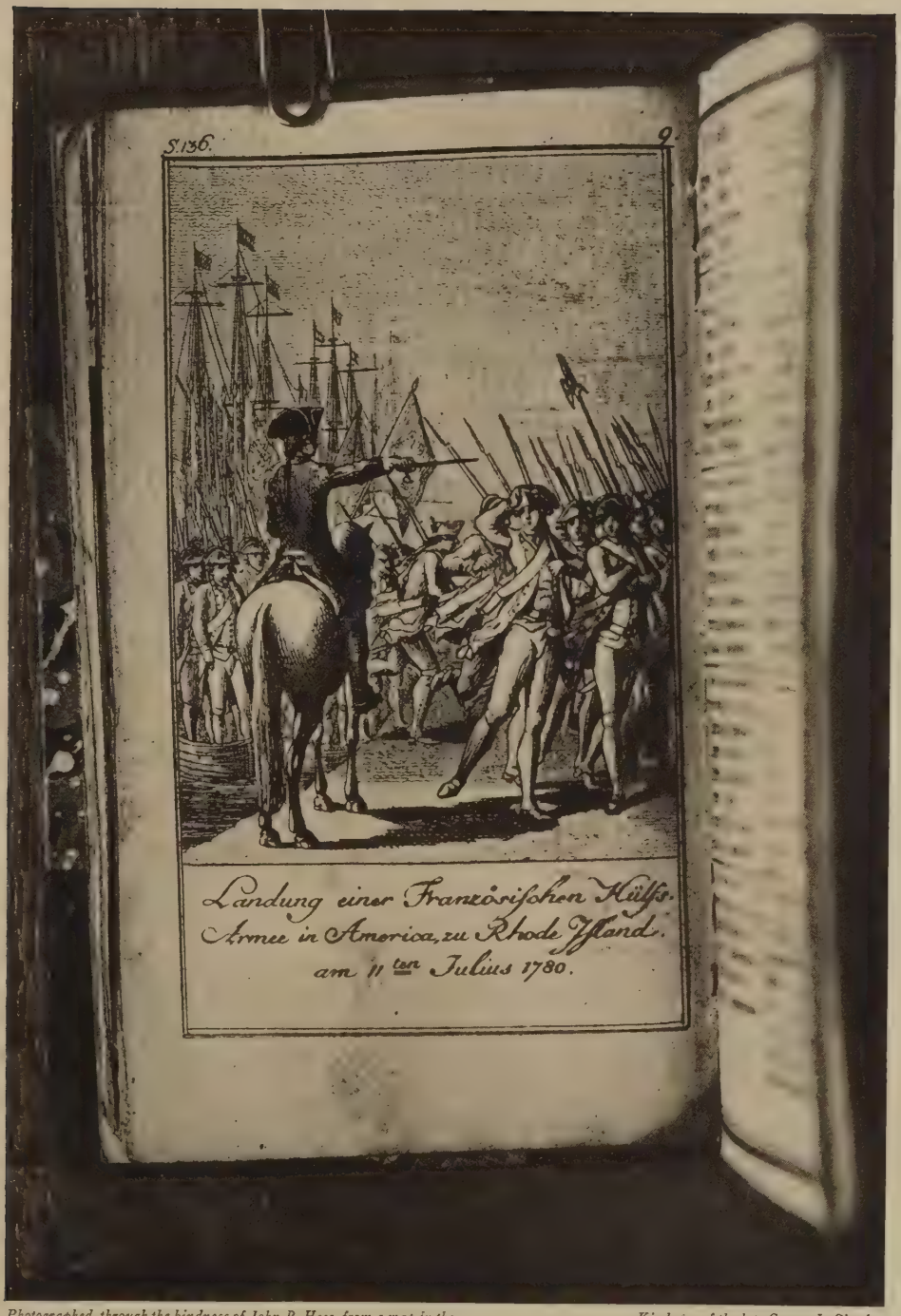
"A most difficult, if not quite unprecedented mission this was, implying a crossing of the ocean in spite of the English fleets, fighting in a country practically unknown, in conjunction with men of whom even less was known and whom we had been accustomed to fight rather than befriend, and for a cause which had never before elicited enthusiasm at Versailles, the cause of republican freedom. . . ."

As for the inspiration to battle for this country Count Ségur, who was a relative of Lafayette and who came over later, well expresses the thoughts of most of the French officers:

". . . We were all dreaming," he writes, "of the liberty, at once calm and lofty, enjoyed by the entire body of citizens of Great Britain." "No one," says he elsewhere, "thought of a revolution in France. . . . We all wanted to fly to America in the name of philanthropy, and we were destined to bring home the germs of an ardent passion for emancipation and independence."

It is particularly interesting to mention briefly the landing instructions given by Minister of War Vergennes to Lafayette prior to the latter's departure to America to arrange for the coming of the fleet:

"The Marquis de Lafayette, on arriving in America, is to proceed immediately to join General Washington . . . it is necessary, to prevent the French squadron from falling into any surprise, that the Marquis de Lafayette should request General Washington to send to Rhode Island, and even to Block Island, if the inhabitants can be confided in, some of the French officers who are with him, each one of whom must be the bearer of a letter from him, that the French squadron may freely and safely enter the port.



Photographed, through the kindness of John R. Hess, from a map in the collection of the late George L. Shepley of Providence, R.I.

Kindness of the late George L. Shepley

LANDING OF THE FRENCH ARMY UNDER ROCHAMBEAU AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, WHICH BEGAN ON JULY 11, 1780

These officers should be charged to keep a most vigilant watch, and should have always at hand several light boats and skillful pilots ready to set off the moment the French convoy shall appear in sight; but, as the weather or other circumstances may not permit these officers to go immediately on board, if the entrance of Rhode Island should be free and open they shall hoist on Block Island and on Points Judith and Sakonnet the French flag; and, on the contrary, if the enemy shall have retaken possession of the island, the American flag shall be hoisted, which will be a signal to the French commander to bear away from the port. . . .

To prevent any surprise in regard to the destination of the French officers who are to be sent by the Marquis de Lafayette, and also to guard against any accident by which these officers may be replaced by suspicious persons, the words of reconnaissance shall be 'St. Louis et Philadelphie.'

Should the winds force the squadron to the south, it ought to proceed to the Capes of Virginia. Let an intelligent officer be stationed at Cape Henry, with orders to join the squadron, who shall be well instructed in the state of American affairs, and particularly in regard to the possibility of debarking at Rhode Island. The same signals in case of the affirmative are to be exhibited at Cape Henry as at Rhode Island. The words of reconnaissance shall be 'Marie et Boston.' "

At seven o'clock in the evening of July 9th a small coasting craft appeared and informed the French that they were off No Man's Land, near Martha's Vineyard. The fleet thereupon hove to for the night and on the following morning were again under weigh. Towards evening Rhode Island was sighted and on the 11th a thick fog enveloped them off Point Judith. Fortunately it lifted and the welcome Fleur de Lis on a white background was seen, informing the newcomers that Rhode Island was in friendly hands. Newport was reached on the same evening.

An amusing incident took place on the voyage, showing the difference between the navigation of the older days and that of the present time: the French on board the "Comtesse de Noailles" on the way captured flying-fishes, which they claimed were "very tender and delicious to eat, fried in fresh butter, like gudgeons."

As soon as it was learned that the fleet was arriving, General Washington sent one of his trusted officers, General Heath of Roxbury, first to Providence to arrange for the sick and then to Newport to receive the French commanders of the land and sea forces. With him came Major Lyman of Boston, said to be the first American to go aboard the French ships. The "Ile de France" lost her way, but appeared later in Boston.

Of the arrival in New England waters of the twelve men-of-war and the thirty-two transports (the latter comprising only 12,800 tons in all), Blanchard has this to report:

"After a voyage of 69 days, this was a great joy; our sick people came out of their beds, and this sight seemed to restore them to health. I am writing in the first moment of excitement; one should have been at sea, in the midst of the sick and dying to feel it thoroughly. What adds to our satisfaction is that we do not discover a sail, and that, according to appearance, we shall land without hindrance, which is greatly to be desired, I repeat it, for there are many sick, not only on our vessel but upon all those of the squadron and of the convoy. On the same day at about eight o'clock, the admiral made us anchor; we were three leagues from the land; what we saw was Martha's Vineyard, a little island lying to the north and twelve leagues from Rhode Island. . . . On the 11th we saw the land very distinctly, which was on one side, Point Judith, from which we were only a league distant, and on the other, Rhode Island.

We distinguished the shore of Point Judith perfectly well; it appeared pleasant to us. But what we saw with great satisfaction was a French flag placed upon each of the two shores which were in front of us. This signal, doubtless agreed upon with M. de La Fayette, who had preceded our squadron, informed us that the English were not masters of Rhode Island, and that we would be well received there. . . .

The wind was light, but having risen at four o'clock, M. de Ternay caused the ships of war to set sail; the sea was calm and everything favored our progress so that we reached Newport about seven o'clock. The ships anchored pretty near each other a quarter of a league from the city. . . .

. . . On the 12th of July, 1780, the day after our arrival, the troops had not yet landed; there was even an express prohibition against landing, and I did not obtain permission until four o'clock

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess from a picture in the Collection of the late George L. Shepley of Providence, Rhode Island

Kindness of the late George L. Shepley

STONE MARKER FROM THE SITE OF FORT DOUGLASS PLACED BY THE LATE COLONEL GEORGE L. SHEPLEY, THEN LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND, AT KING PARK, NEAR THE LANDING PLACE OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

This Park is near Fort Douglass, which protected the French troops during the landing. No further monument has been placed here.

in the afternoon. I, therefore, placed my foot upon the earth at Newport. This city is small, but handsome; the streets are straight and the houses, although mostly of wood, are of agreeable shape. In the evening there was an illumination. I entered the house of an inhabitant, who received me very well; I took tea there, which was served by a young lady. . . ."

Deux-Ponts' account continues:

"On the 9th, at six o'clock in the morning, we found bottom . . . the uncertainty of our distance from land and the impossibility of seeing it, induced the Chevalier de Ternay to come to anchor. At three we set sail. . . . A short time after we made land, but could not identify it. We approached it until seven o'clock in the evening, when we saw a small American boat, the captain of which the Admiral ordered aboard his ship, and we learned that the land we had seen was No Man's Island one of the islands of Nantucket Banks. We came to anchor at nine o'clock in the evening and sailed again the next day at four in the morning.

On the 10th, in the evening, we made land again, and were sure that it was Rhode Island; we passed the night at anchor, and sailed at daybreak on the next day. The fog was very thick, and we ran in towards land, where we should have been lost if the 'Ecureuil' had not fired some guns to warn us of our danger. The fog lifted, and we were off Point Judith, where we were becalmed and forced to anchor. The Admiral sent us an American pilot [Colonel Elliot] ["Pilots from the island of Martha's Vineyard conducted the squadron to the anchorage of Rhode Island," wrote Dumas] when we set sail again in the afternoon, and entered the channel of Newport in the evening of the 11th of July.

The Count de Rochambeau went ashore the same day and was engaged in selecting a camping

ground, and in all the details relative to his little army, which prevented him from beginning the disembarkation of his troops till the 13th of July. The grenadiers and chasseurs were the first to land, and the same evening occupied the camp which is intended for us. They were followed on the 14th and 15th by the well troops, and the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th were given up to landing the sick. Some of these were carried to hospitals in readiness for them at Newport, while others were taken to a hospital established at Pappasquash [now spelled Popsquash] twelve miles from Newport."

Dr. Stiles, at one time President of Yale College, in his accurate diary, makes this entry:

"On the 11th July Inst arrived at Newport Rh. Isld. a Fleet from France of Men o' War and Transports consisting of fourty four sail, having on board 6000 Troops. The Fleet is commanded by his Excellency Monsieur le Chevalier de Ternay, & the Troops by his Excelly Mons. le Comte de Rochambeau. In conseq. of wc the Town (Newpt) was beautifully illuminated on Wedny Eveng (July 12) and 13 grand Rockets were fired in the Front of the State house. Wedny 13th Gen. Heath arrived at Newport. Thirty three Inhab. of Rh. Isld. lately proscribed by Gen. Assembly; of wc 29 Newport Tory Refugees."

De Ternay also fired a salute of thirteen guns, which was answered by our shore batteries.

On July 31 Dr. Stiles again wrote:

"Letters from Mr. Avery in Newport of 17th and 23d Inst. giving acco. of the French Fleet arrivg there 11th Inst. concsistg of Eight Ships fr. 84 to 64 Guns & 37 Frigates & Transports, with 5700 Troops. Being the first Div. of the Force sent by our Allies to our Assistance, the whole of wc to be 12 Sail of the Line & 75 Frigates and Transports & 10,000 Troops. The Bell rang at Newpt till after Midnight & the Eveng of 12th Newpt illuminated, the Whigs put 13 Lights in the Windows the Tories or doubtfuls 4 or 6. The Quakers did not chuse their Lights shd shine before men, & their Windows were broken—a fine subject for Friends Meeting of Sufferings."

Another writer states that:

". . . The illuminating was to be done by the houses on certain streets which were to be kept lighted on this special occasion until ten o'clock. To assist those who were ordered to illuminate, but were too poor to furnish lights, the council directed that in such cases the light should be at the public expense; but, with a judicious thrift characteristic of our forefathers and little practised in modern city governments, the treasurer was ordered to buy one box of candles, which must answer the needs of all."

This resolution was announced to the inhabitants by beat of drum.

On the 17th of the following month Dr. Stiles's diary records:

"The French Troops are a fine body of men, & appear to be well officered. Neither Officers nor men are the effiminite Beings we were heretofore taught to believe them. They are as large & as likely men as can be produced by any nation.—The Arrival of the Fleet & Army hath given new Life to the Town. There is more Business transactg and money circulatg than formerly. . . ."

Dr. Stiles in October enters this interesting record:

"7. Dined at the Generals—de Rochambeau, in a splendid manner. There were perhaps 30 at Table. I conversed with the General in Latin. He speaks it tolerably.

9. Dined at Gen. de Chastelux (spelled wrong) in a splendid manner on 35 dishes. He is a capital Literary Character, a Member of the French Academy. He is the Glory of the Army.

11. Dined at Mr. Channing's with Gen. Veiomenel & Chattelux" (both spelled wrong).

An eye-witness thus describes the appearance of the troops:

"The uniform of the Deux-Ponts was white; Saintonge white and green; Bourbonnais black and red. The regiment of the Soissonnais was particularly picturesque, with rose colored facings to their coats, and grenadier caps adorned with white and rose colored plumes. All wore cocked hats and their hair was carefully done up in pig-tails."

As a mark of honour to the French, General Washington gave the well-known order that the American Army should wear cockades of black (as the ground) and white (as the relief)

Photographed by L. C. Handy from a map in the Library of Congress at Washington, D.C., among the Rochambeau papers

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

POSITIONS IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, OF THE FRENCH ARMY SOON AFTER DISEMBARKING ON JULY 11, 1780

From a Rochambeau map entitled "Plan de la position de l'armée française autour de New-Port et du Mouillage de l'escadre dans la rade de cette ville [Fortifications] 1780." It is believed this is the first time this French map was ever reproduced. The exact location of the camps of the different regiments is marked. At No. 42, nearest the harbour, Parts of French Artillery (Parc); at No. 43, (Auxonne) Artillery; at No. 44, Bourbonnais; at No. 45, Royal Deux Ponts; at No. 46, Soissonnais; at No. 47, Saint Onge; at No. 48, De Lauzun's Hussars were stationed here, while others were placed at Castle Hill, the home of Alexander Agassiz. Numbers 51, 52, 56 and 57 show the positions of the French vessels of war at that time.

as a symbol of alliance for their allies. The American cockade at that time was black and the French white. Some of the French wore black cockades as a compliment to the Americans.

When Rochambeau first landed he thought he was received rather coldly and so wrote to Vergennes, the French Minister of War. "Nobody appeared in the streets," he said. "Those at the windows looked sad and depressed. I spoke to the principal inhabitants and told them, as I write to General Washington, that this was merely the advanced guard of a greater force." Undoubtedly this lack of interest was due to the fact that people of Newport were war weary and also that they were unprepared for a demonstration. In a short time, however, the Newportites rose to the occasion, and on the following day, the 12th, gave the newcomers the splendid welcome described by Dr. Stiles, to celebrate the arrival of "the fleet and army of his most Christian Majesty, the illustrious ally of the States, now within the harbor and town of Newport."

Deux-Ponts evidently shared the opinion of his superior, for he writes:

"A coldness and a reserve appear to me to be characteristic of the American nation. They appear to have little of that enthusiasm which one supposes would belong to a people fighting for its liberties, and to be little suited to inspire it in others. But these considerations shall not at all change my resolution, and they occupy my thoughts less than my reflections upon our military and political position. . . ."

Rochambeau was now evidently greatly pleased at the demonstration, for he added to this same letter to Vergennes: "In twenty-four hours their spirits rose, and last night all the streets, houses, and steeples were illuminated and in the midst of fireworks and the greatest rejoicings." A Newportite mentions that the State House was especially illuminated for the occasion. As to the hospitality shown the French by our soldiers, Miss M. E. Powel, of Newport, a leading authority on the history of the French while in her town, states that when the cold weather came, each one of several hundred American troops on Conanicut Island shared his blanket with a French soldier.

We quote from the memoirs of another French officer, Lieutenant-General Count Mathieu Dumas, an Engineer and Aide-de-camp to Rochambeau:

". . . Our joy may be easily conceived after so long a passage, and such well-founded alarms for the success of our expedition. We had at length reached the country which we so ardently desired to see, where the bare appearance of the French flag would revive the hopes of the defenders of liberty. We were welcomed with the acclamations of the few patriots that remained in the island. . . . Scarcely was the arrival of the French squadron known when the authorities and principal inhabitants of the neighboring country hastened to welcome us. The Count de Rochambeau was complimented by the public officers.

. . . It was necessary to erect barracks to lodge the troops, to fit up hospitals at the bottom of the bay in the little town of Providence, to take measures for mounting the hussars of Lauzun; in a word, to provide for all the wants of the little army, while in winter-quarters. I was employed with my comrade Chevalier Charles de Lameth in various reconnaissances relative to the defensive arrangements . . . I generally lodged in the little town of Providence, where I was particularly well received in the family of Dr. Bowen. . ."

After the arrival the first thing that concerned Rochambeau was to take care of the sick, of which there were approximately seventeen hundred, or almost one-third of the entire force, most of whom were ill with scurvy. Some were placed in old buildings arranged for by de Corny, who was one of the commissaries; according to several authorities some were placed in the old State House in Newport; some were provided for in the Congregational Church, also known as Dr. Hopkins' Church and now used as K. of C. rooms; still others were placed in private houses, while two hundred and eighty or so were transported to a hos-

From an old print in the possession of the State Street Trust Company

THE FRENCH FLAGSHIP "VILLE DE PARIS"

and other French vessels after a storm. The "Ville de Paris" is to windward under close reefed topsails.

pital at Papisquash Point (now known as Popsquash, a contraction from Papoosesquaw) west of Bristol Harbour. It is of interest to Bostonians to learn that one hundred or so, belonging to the Bourbonnais regiment, were sent to that city and probably taken care of near by at a hospital in Roxbury, for we learn from the *Independent Chronicle* of August 17 of the same year that Le Gau, Commissary of War, from Mrs. Frazier's lodgings on State Street, gave notice that in a few days the troops would be well enough to march to Providence and that all persons having any claims should present them at once. There was also a hospital established in June of the following year on Governor's Island in Boston Harbour, by vote of the Massachusetts Senate, the records showing that "on the petition of M. De Valnais, Consul of France, praying for the use of the barracks on Governor's Island, for the better accommodation of a number of sick soldiers and seamen lately arrived from France" it was "*Resolved*, that the prayer of said petition be granted, and that M. de Valnais have liberty to make use of the barracks for the purpose mentioned in his petition." Six or seven hundred were taken to Providence or elsewhere. This whole task occupied four days.

At a later date Blanchard again proceeded to Boston, "to introduce a little order into the hospital," as he expressed it. To take the place of the ill men, Rochambeau secured from General Washington five thousand troops from Boston and Rhode Island.

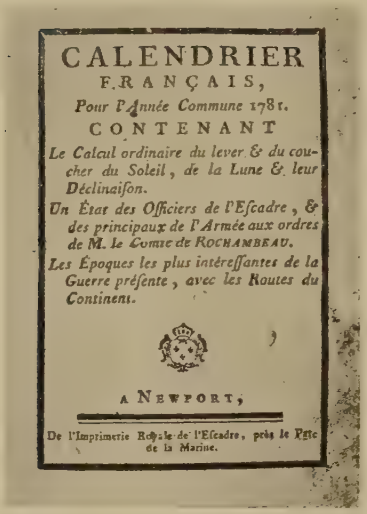
In the meanwhile, Rochambeau and his officers were busy landing the men and placing them in their positions, as explained by him:

"The French corps landed at Newport, the capital of this island; it was encamped covering this town, cutting the island across, its left on the sea, its right at the anchorage of the squadron, which brought its broadside to bear protected by land batteries which I caused to be established at the most convenient points. I worked likewise to fortify various points at which the enemy might land, and to open roads to go and attack him on the first moment of his debarkation. In this position, the French corps might always move by the shortest line to the point where the enemy wished to land. . . ."

The positions of the different regiments were southeast of Newport, near the cliffs, and extended nearly across the island, as shown in a reproduction herewith of one of Rochambeau's maps in the Congressional Library at Washington, which we believe has never before been published. It is entitled "Plan de la position de l'armée française autour de New-Port et du Mouillage de l'escadre dans la rade de cette ville. 1780."

De Closen under date of July 13 made this entry in speaking of the landing:

"The day so longed for has at last arrived the 13th when I, with my company, as well as all the army grenadiers and cavalry, landed near Newport that we might encamp on an elevation situated to the south east. On the left the camp lay on a bay projecting from the ocean. Lauzun's soldiers were encamped a mile in front, on the southern part of the Island which is called the Neck . . . I was most agreeably surprised the morning after my landing to find that M. de Rochambeau had made me his aide-de-camp so that, after having slept for two nights under canvas, I was to be lodged in the General's Quarters with M. Lauberdière, one of my new comrades and a relative of the General's. The first duty to perform was the organization of a hospital for the care of our sick who numbered 2000 out of the whole army, the majority being victims of scurvy. We found that the men who were the tallest and physically the strongest suffered the most on the journey and that the Germans were less able to endure the sea voyage than the other Europeans. We learned of the arrival of the 'Ile de France' in Boston with genuine delight!"



CALENDRIER
FRANÇAIS,
Pour l'Année Commune 1781.
CONTENANT
Le Calcul ordinaire du lever & du coucher du Soleil, de la Lune & leur Déclinaiſon.
Un État des Officiers de l'Eſcadre, & des principaux de l'Armée aux ordres de M. le Comte de ROCHAMBEAU.
Les Époques les plus intéreſſantes de la Guerre préſente, avec les Routes du Continent.
A NEWPORT,
De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Eſcadre, près le Fort de la Marine.

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess *Kindness of Rhode Island Historical Society*

FIRST PAGE OF A FRENCH "CALENDRIER" PRINTED ON THE ROYAL PRINTING PRESS OF THE FRENCH SQUADRON WHILE IN THE HARBOUR OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

This press was set up on shore and many things were printed on it, including a newspaper of which there is no known copy extant, and also the travels of de Chastellux. This "Calendrier" is a rare relic,—only two copies known,—one in the Rhode Island Historical Society and one in the Shepley Library.

On a later date appears this record:

"The General has had a fort constructed which defends the passage between this Island and the Promontory of Brenton and the Neck. At half a mile from Goat's Island on the Promontory of Brenton there was a poorly constructed battery, large enough for 4 cannon which M. de Rochambeau had repaired at once. We have established different small posts the length of the coast with which the patrols may communicate and which protect positions that are exposed on the beach. . . . The troops however were not all landed until the 15th. . . . M. de Rochambeau at once sent the grenadiers and the cavalry under the command of the Count de Custine and de Deux-Ponts (the younger) and de Noailles (both Colonels "en seconde") into camp at the Neck to aid Lauzun's soldiers; moreover the 2nd battalion of Soissonnais was detached and sent to the Island of Conanicut, where a battery had been constructed to protect our vessels, which at first had been broadsided the entire width of the right coast of Conanicut Island and on the left Coast of Goat Island as M. de Ternay feared the enemy might build shell batteries in which art the sailors were not amateurs."

Dr. David King wrote that:

"for some months the officers had their attention directed to making secure the anchorage of the fleet, and erected fortifications where needed. Hence their encampments were distributed in a circuit along the south of Newport, at Castle Hill, near Brenton's Point, in the neighborhood of the present

Photographed by E. H. Pickering from a model in the classroom of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland

Kindness of Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, Admiral Wilson, John W. Martyn and J. H. Sypher

MODEL OF THE "VILLE DE PARIS," FRENCH FLAGSHIP OF ADMIRAL DE GRASSE, WHICH TOOK PART IN THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN,

one of the largest and finest war ships of the French Navy of that day, carrying 104 guns. On September 5, 1781, this vessel took part in the engagement in Chesapeake Bay, and on April 12, of the following year, while with the squadron of de Grasse, was captured by the enemy at the battle off Santo Domingo, in the West Indies, and later foundered. A number of councils of war were held on her while in this country, Washington and Rochambeau conferring with de Grasse on different occasions. The "Ville de Paris" was a present from the city of Paris to the King. De Grasse's daughters during the French Revolution came to America, taking up their residence for a short time in Colonel Pickman's house in Salem, Massachusetts. William Bentley in his diary records that "they behaved well." Of de Grasse his sailors used to say: "Our Admiral is six feet tall on ordinary days and six feet six on battle days." This model of the "Ville de Paris" was presented to the Naval Academy in 1854 by Alexander Vattemare, representative of the French Ministry of Marine in the United States, who gave Boston the idea for its public library.

shore road and of the cliffs at the south and east of Newport. These encampments were various, and were protected by earthen embankments. I am now one of the oldest citizens, and having been familiar with Newport from boyhood, I used to run over the lines of encampment then visible. . . ."

Deux-Ponts thus refers to the encampment of the French:

"The camp of the French Army has its right wing resting near Newport, a little in front of the town, and the left touches the sea. The Legion of Lauzun is encamped in front of the Army on a peninsula called the Neck."

Miss Powel describes more accurately the position of the camp:

"The late Dr. Henry E. Turner told the writer 'that the French were encamped to the east of Newport and along the ridge approximately topped by "Love Lane" and Rhode Island Avenue.'. . . The only main road from the town to the Beach, began with Mill Street, extending along Old Beach

Road, turned into 'Love Lane' and then down the sharp hill from there to the Beach on what is now part of Bath Road. This is now covered by property in the hands of the many of the members of this Society, our President, Mrs. Rogers Morgan, the Misses Mason, etc. The fleet lay between Rose Island and Brenton's Point."

The Providence *Gazette* of July 22 spoke most flatteringly of the new arrivals:

"We have the pleasure to inform the public that the fleet and army are in high health and spirits, and ardently wish for an opportunity to signalize themselves in the common cause. The officers of every rank have rendered themselves agreeable, by that politeness which characterizes the French nation. The officers and soldiers wear cockades of three colors, emblematical of a triple alliance between France, Spain and America."

Another newspaper spoke especially of the "brilliant appearance of the numerous gentlemen, officers of the fleet, and army of our illustrious ally who were ashore, with that of the ladies and gentlemen of the town, and the joy which every friend to liberty expressed on the happy occasion. ."

The Newport Town Council and the General Assembly, then sitting at Newport, sent addresses of welcome to Count Rochambeau, both of which were appropriately answered, and during the following month a committee prepared an elaborate dinner to the French officers.

On the 16th of the month General Washington from his headquarters in New Jersey addressed Count Rochambeau:

"I hasten to impart to you the happiness I feel at the welcome news of your arrival; and, as well in the name of the American Army, as in my own, to present you with an assurance of our warmest sentiments for allies, who have so generously come to our aid. As a citizen of the United States, and as a soldier in the cause of liberty, I thankfully acknowledge this new mark of friendship from his Most Christian Majesty. . . . I shall be happy to hear that the health of such of your troops as were indisposed by the voyage, is speedily restored."

Washington later expressed much concern at the non-arrival of powder and arms, declaring that if the French could not lend them largely, he certainly could attempt nothing.

Soon after his arrival the French General wrote the leader of the American troops a letter, several lines of which we quote:

"We are now, sir, under your command . . . and I hope that in a month we shall be ready to act under Your Excellency's orders. . . . It is hardly necessary for me to tell Your Excellency that I bring sufficient funds to pay in cash for whatever is needed by the King's army, and that we shall maintain as strict discipline as if we were under the walls of Paris. . . ."

GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU IN BOSTON

FEW Bostonians realize that the great Rochambeau made a very short visit to the Massachusetts Capital from his headquarters in Newport while his army was wintering there in the years 1780 to 1781. There are few records to show us how he occupied his three days, December 13, 14 and 15, of 1780, but we are reasonably sure that one of the objects of his visit was to discuss with his landlord, William Vernon, some matters concerning the latter's "mansion" in Newport which the Count and his son were then occupying. Possibly it was to talk about the addition to this Vernon place of the so-called "French Hall" that Rochambeau was building for meetings and entertainments; or, as an excellent authority believes, Rochambeau probably came here in an effort to borrow from the Boston merchants some funds with which to rebuild some of the Newport houses in which to lodge his troops. Even the General's Memoirs, which, by the way, are difficult to find in this country, the only copy in Boston being in the Public Library, make only a short mention of his "reconnoitering" journey to Boston. Unfortunately, Vernon, who had taken up his residence temporarily in Boston, was absent, much to the disappointment of the visitor. Vernon, on hearing of his visit, wrote to his son Samuel at Newport, "You will do well to make my excuse to the General, and at the same time present my respectful compliments." Rochambeau would have remained longer had not a courier arrived from Newport on Saturday, the 16th, with the lamentable news of Admiral de Ternay's death which had occurred the day before. The French General immediately departed, but did not reach his headquarters in time for the funeral, to be described in another volume, which was held on the same day he left Boston. Before leaving Newport and after a visit to New London, Norwich, Windham and Lebanon, Count Rochambeau had seen de Ternay, who was then ill with fever, but believing his "fever gave no uneasiness I continued my reconnoitering expedition to Boston," as he expressed it in his Memoirs. The few newspapers of the day made only a brief mention of the Count's visit. The Boston *Gazette* under date of Monday, December 18th, announced:

"Wednesday last his Excellency General Rochambeau, with his Suite, arrived here from Rhode Island; and on Friday last his Excellency went and view'd the Works at the Castle, when he was received with a Salute from the Cannon of that Fortress.

Saturday Morning last an Express arrived here from Rhode Island to his Excellency General Rochambeau with an account of the Death of Admiral Ternay, Commander of His Most Christian Majesty's Fleet at that Port; When his Excellency immediately set off for that Place."

The *Independent Chronicle* three days later said:

"Last Saturday morning His Excellency The Count Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French Army at Newport, whose military character is much respected throughout Europe, accompanied by the Count Chaisie [meaning Choisy], Major-General, and a number of French officers, set out from this town on their return to Newport. They arrived here on the preceding Wednesday, in the evening, and on the two following days they visited the Castle, Bunker Hill, the lines around Boston, General Washington's former headquarters at Cambridge and the University. Every respect was paid them that the time would allow, the shortness of which was much regretted. The General and Count Chaisie [Choisy] resided in the house of his Excellency the Governor." (John Hancock)

Rochambeau found time to write at least one letter from Boston, for General Washington, in a letter to Lafayette, mentions having received from the French General a note written on the 13th while in that city; a paragraph quoted by the American Commander reads: "On

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

PORTRAIT OF ROCHAMBEAU BY RAYNAUD

now at the Château Rochambeau. It was painted some years before he came to America. An excellent copy of this painting hangs in the salon of the steamer "Rochambeau" of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique (the French Line). The only place in Boston which is honored by the name of the French General is the schoolhouse on Gibson Street, Dorchester, which was so named during the World War.

arriving at this place, I found very interesting news, brought by an American vessel, which left the river of Nantes on the 4th of November. She has given me the annexed list of vessels, which are coming from Brest, destined for America, etc."

Rochambeau wrote Governor Hancock several letters before and after his visit, parts of which we quote below, urging the "State" of Boston, as he wrongly describes it, to send some troops to help him defend Newport. On July 25, 1780, he wrote:

"... We have 1500 seamen sick and 800 of our land forces, the works we are making to fortify Connell's cut, require a great many hands and in the present circumstance, it is impossible for us to do as we could desire, for want of hands. I beg of you, Gentlemen, with instance send me with the greatest speed, your militia men to come and help your allyes. There is a guard set at Holland's ferry, keeping boats to ford them over, your militia men will be nourished like our own troops, we shall reward them for their work, and I will send them back again, against the harvest time, as soon as the danger will be over, and that cannot be long. . . ."

The following spring, on March 12th, he again addressed our Governor:

"*Sir*,

I must begin my letter with thanking your excellency for the exactness with which you was pleased to send here the militia which I had demanded. I think I cannot better show my gratitude, than, in this moment that I see the enemy's fleet seems to be resolved to follow ours, in sending back the greatest part of our militia, and keeping here only 300 men of the state of Boston, and 300 of that of Rhode-island. . . . His Excellency General Washington has honored us with his presence during four or five days. It was impossible for me to send word of it to your Excellency because he arrived unawares, and brought himself his answer to my letter in which I had mentioned to him, our decision for the departure of the fleet. . . . His Excellency has found that the works on the Continent raised to protect the ferrys are entirely wanting iron cannon. He looks upon it as very necessary that your Excellency should send some to Tiverton in the redoubts that protect the passage of the ferry to Rhode-island." This letter is signed "Most obedient and most humble Servant."

Three months later, on the 7th of June, Rochambeau, just before leaving Newport on his long march, again appealed for men:

"*Sir*,

I have the honor to send to your Excellency, the letter herein inclosed from General Washington and in consequence of it to desire you to send here as soon as possible the 500 militia that the State of Boston is to furnish for the security of the French squadron. I intend to begin after tomorrow my movement to Providence, in two divisions, by the river, and I hope in three or four days to have evacuated this place, except the 200 men that I leave under the command of M. De Choisy, Brigadier General. You are acquainted with his experience and reputation and I believe that General Washington desires that he should command the land forces that are to defend the fleet during the march of the French army upon the north river; I hope that your Excellency will send him either a Colonel or a Brigadier General of good military reputation to command under him the militia of the State of Boston, and that you will at the same time give orders to the neighboring militia to be ready to march upon his requiring it, in case the enemy should attack Rhode Island.

I seize with pleasure this occasion to send you Major Henry who has the honor to be known to your Excellency, etc."

Still another request for troops came from the French Camp on August 4th, to General Washington, worded thus:

"*Sir*,

By the last letter that I have received from M. Choisy, it appears that the Boston Militia are very slow in their moving down to Rhode Island—I beg to your Excellency to write again to his Excellency Governor Hancock to desire him to make them be in a greater hurry—we are now in a time very decisive and interesting Sir."

Vicomte de Rochambeau, son of the famous General, Colonel "en seconde" of the Bourbonnais regiment and Aide-de-Camp to his father, visited Boston on at least one occasion.

On the 8th of May, 1781, he arrived in Boston from Brest in the well-known frigate "Concorde" together with Comte de Barras, who came to this country to take command of the French fleet, in place of the late Admiral de Ternay. Du Bourg was also on board, coming over to serve on the staff of the French General. The younger Rochambeau had been sent from Newport with M. de la Pérouse, on the "Amazone," to carry to Paris the decisions arrived at during the Hartford conference in September of the previous year and also to urge the sending of more men, ships and money. He learned his instructions by heart in case he should fall into the hands of the enemy. He brought some funds, but also conveyed the discouraging news that France had decided it would be impossible to send a second expedition, though she would probably send de Grasse from the West Indies to assist the fleet. Vicomte de Rochambeau was an officer of superior merit, was made a Lieutenant-General after the Revolutionary War and was killed at the battle of Leipsic in 1813. De Barras, who was born in Provence, was a great friend of Count d'Estaing and had commanded his vanguard when he entered Newport harbour, almost three years before. He co-operated with Count de Grasse at Yorktown and in 1782 was made a Vice Admiral.

From an old print in the collection of the State Street Trust Company

Kindness of Paul F. Cadman

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

soon after his return from America

A VISIT TO ROCHAMBEAU'S BIRTHPLACE AND SOME NEW LIGHTS AND OLD ON THE GENERAL HIMSELF

BY PAUL F. CADMAN

WHEN Maréchal Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Count de Rochambeau, wrote his Memoirs in the well-earned and peaceful retirement of his old age, he held strictly to the principles which had governed his entire life. As a soldier he was chiefly occupied with the performance of duty; personal ambition, court favor and political aspiration seem to have been left out of his make-up. He lived and worked in the spirit of his profession, and few officers in any army have ever had such large opportunity to practice that profession. Consequently, when it came to telling his story, he gave himself up completely to recounting the history of his time in terms of campaigns, combats and sieges. It is with the greatest difficulty that one can glean from his Memoirs a bare handful of details about his private life.

It is strange that in a time when biography was particularly rich, both historians and biographers should have focused their attention almost entirely on the military activities of Rochambeau and should have neglected to bring to light any record of his home life. To be sure, his campaigns were his life and the proper cause of his celebrity, but there is usually a deal of interest in the commonplace of the lives of great men. Unhappily there was no devoted Doctor Jules Cloquet (as in the case of Lafayette) to give to the world these rare details, and it was not until 1898 that one Arthur Du Chêne had the courage to dig into the records of the region of Vendôme for the civil history of this famous man and his family.

Maréchal de Rochambeau was born of a good, solid, well-to-do family which came from the southwest of France, that region which is commonly called "The Midi." His father, Joseph Charles de Vimeur, had settled in Vendôme, where he enjoyed sufficient power and influence to secure the appointment as governor of the city. This good man was a considerable personage, and in the legal records of the community he is variously referred to as Chevalier, Marquis de Rochambeau, Seigneur de la Royauté de Rennes, Villarceau, La Tour de Varennes, La Norais, St. Hilaire and "other places"; also he was known as Counselor of the King, Grand Bailiff of the Sword of Vendôme, Captain of the Château and Governor of the City of Vendôme, Juge du Point d'Honneur in the province, Chevalier of the Royal Military Orders of Saint Louis, of Notre Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and Saint-Lazare-de-Jerusalem. All this weight of titular responsibility, however, did not hinder Charles Joseph de Vimeur from being quite a comfortable citizen who was fond of dispensing genial hospitality, in the winter at his town house in the Rue Poterie in Vendôme, and in the summer at his ancient château at Rochambeau, a little hamlet some three miles outside the same city.

The records of the history of this château before the first Marquis de Rochambeau came to occupy it are not very clear. However, in the correspondence of the Marquis in 1721 he speaks of it as "old," and from its general appearance it may well date from the early fifteenth century. At all events, it was he who first built the broad terraces and laid out the beautiful gardens, which work, according to the same letters, was executed at great expense. Furthermore, he planted that magnificent avenue of linden trees that runs today from the château for nearly three kilometres in the direction of Vendôme.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

HOUSE AT NO. 40 RUE CHERCHE MIDI

in which Rochambeau resided while in Paris. He was living here in 1780 when he received orders from the King to take command of the Expeditionary Forces to America.

It is said that the château was always an open house; that the Marquis de Rochambeau entertained not only the officers of the garrison and the dignitaries of the community, but that whoever arrived at Rochambeau at dinner-time was always welcome; indeed, there were seldom less than eighteen or twenty at table. And if the kind proprietor was in a sense the first man of the district, he was by no means over-proud or intolerant. He practised a very simple Christianity and was constantly giving thanks to God for "the benefits bestowed on himself and his family." Du Chêne says that he was more of a good-hearted daddy (papa gâteau) than he was a Grand Bailiff of the Sword.

The mother of the Maréchal was Marie-Claire-Thérèse Begon, daughter of a tax collector in Vendôme who had acquired the title of Secretary to the King, which gave him the rank of nobility. She was the eldest of four sisters and three brothers—all successfully married and occupying positions of prominence. With true Latin taste, mention is made of the fact that Marie Begon brought thirty-three thousand francs as her dowry, a sum by no means inconsiderable for the time; but the biographer hastens to add that she brought also a very fine intelligence and a degree of education which was altogether remarkable. In fact, her mother had been a born governess and she had inherited the natural gifts of teacher and guide.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris *Kindness of Paul F. Cadman*

ROCHAMBEAU STATUE IN THE PLACE ST. MARTIN AT VENDÔME IN THE VALLEY OF THE LOIR, FRANCE

His château is about five miles distant, in a small hamlet named for him. This statue was dedicated in the presence of the American Ambassador, General Porter, on June 4, 1900. Rochambeau is shown holding in his left hand a plan of Yorktown and at his feet is a captured cannon and a branch of laurel. The sculptor was Ferdinand Hamar, also a resident of Vendôme. The inscription on one side, translated into English, is "Commander-in-chief of the French army in America, took Yorktown in 1781, and assured the Independence of the United States."

The relations between the father and mother of Rochambeau do not appear to have been altogether happy, although the records state with delightful naïveté that in their correspondence they speak neither good nor bad of each other. The mother was employed as governess to the children of their Highnesses the Duke and Duchesse of Chartres, and consequently it was at her knees that Philippe Egalité and the wife of the famous Duke d'Enghien learned their a b c's.

One thing is certain, that both father and mother were entirely devoted to their four children and that they did all in their power to plan for their well-being. The only daughter, Philippine-Elizabeth, was married to François Louis, "a gentleman from Lorraine" and a former colonel in the brave regiment of Saint Onge. Gabriel-Césaire-Joseph was the eldest son and was destined to be the soldier of the family. Louis-Hector, second son, was born at St. Cloud, where his mother was occupied with her duties as governess. Both he and his brother were baptised in the beautiful chapel in the château at St. Cloud. Finally there was Jean-Baptiste-Donatien, born at the Château Rochambeau two hundred years ago, on July 1, 1725.

Jean-Baptiste was sickly and delicate from the time of his birth. At a very early age he began his studies in the Collège des Pères de l'Oratoire at Vendôme, but soon after his tenth birthday it was decided that he should go into the priesthood. The Bishop of Blois, Monseigneur de Crussol, was a friend of the family. That worthy Divine suspected the Fathers of the Oratoire of Jansenism, and did not hesitate to call their college a pesthouse. Consequently, young Rochambeau was taken to Blois and put under the protection of the Bishop, where his stay was both short and happy. He was in great favour with his teachers, and the Bishop used to call him his little "Grand Vicar." At the age of thirteen his theological studies were sufficiently advanced so that he was considered as a proper candidate for the "tonsure," the first step in ordination. This ceremony was to take place at the Feast of Pentecost, when suddenly the word came that his elder brother, Gabriel, had died. The other brother, Louis-Hector, had died while he was yet a baby. Thus the frail Jean-Baptiste, the little theologue, was left as the sole male heir of the family.

It was not without keen regret that the good Bishop announced this news to his pupil, but it must be said to his credit that he at once counselled the young postulant to forget everything that he had learned in theology and to go forth to serve his King and his Country with as much zeal as he had promised to the ministry. Accordingly, Rochambeau went back to the heretical College of Vendôme, where he quickly finished his preparation for the Academy of Paris. Hence it was only the event of his brother's death that prevented the consecration which would have sealed Rochambeau to the priesthood. No doubt with his talents and qualities he would have been an archbishop or even a cardinal, but France would have lost one of the foremost of her fighting generals.

He was only seventeen when he entered the

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris — *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

FAMOUS CHAIRS COVERED WITH TAPESTRY WOVEN BY MADAME DE ROCHAMBEAU

while her husband was campaigning in America, showing also other pieces of furniture from Rochambeau's bedroom in his château at Vendôme. At the time this photograph was taken these articles were on exhibition at the Exposition des Maréchaux in the Palais de la Legion d'Honneur.

army—that was in 1742. The following year he was made a captain and four years later he was a colonel. In July, 1747, he was grievously wounded in a bayonet charge in the Battle of Lawfeld and was sent home on furlough. It was during his long convalescence at his father's château that he married. "Every romance," says du Chêne, "should end in a rich marriage." But happily the question of riches, so foremost in continental marriages of all time, was not the only consideration in the case of Rochambeau. In his Memoirs he says of this event:

"After escaping, happily for me, two marriages with young women who turned out rather badly —my star gave me a wife who was all I could wish for. I married at the end of 1749, Mademoiselle Tellès d'Acosta—she brought me a dowery of three times as much wealth as my parents had expected for my marriage, but especially a personality and an education which was most highly praised by all my friends. She brought me happiness all my life. I hope for my part, to have made her happy by the tenderest affection which has never wavered for a single moment during nearly sixty years. When I was first wounded I was nearly bled white and my health was very bad—frequent hemorrhages and fevers made it necessary for me to pass a quiet time at home under a strict regime. My wife who was always with me, took small-pox and we nursed each other."

Not long before, when it was suggested that he return to Paris and seek a wife, he remarked that he had been settling so many quarrels between the wives of his many soldiers that he thought it safer to stay away.

Jeanne Thérèse Tellès d'Acosta was the daughter of Emmanuel Tellès d'Acosta, counselor and secretary of the King, and Marie-Antoinette Fizence. There is very little said of her in the documents concerning Rochambeau, but from his own testimony just presented, she was a faithful, helpful comrade. It is very probable that she greatly aided in the task of writing the Memoirs, although it is not known that she actually took the dictation. While her illustrious husband was in America, she made with her own hands to welcome his return a fine quality of tapestry which was used to cover six chairs and to make the bedspread and canopy as well as the bed-ends and the window-hangings for his bedroom. The work is remarkable not only for its beauty and fineness, but for the amount that was accomplished in the comparatively short space of two years.

Rochambeau's father, always anxious for his son's success and happiness, had assured for him the governorship of Vendôme. He had also willed him the old château which with his wife's fortune put the young couple in fairly easy circumstances. But in 1755 the soldier-count was off for another campaign—that of the siege of Port Mahon on the island of Minorca, from which victory he returned not only a brigadier of infantry, but a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. Then came the Seven Years' War, during which Rochambeau continued to grow in skill and tact and experience. In 1759 he was appointed colonel in the famous regiment of Auvergne which was later to fight on American soil. In 1761, when he was only thirty-six years of age, he was made Maréchal de Camp and Inspector of Cavalry. A letter from his father to a friend sheds an interesting light on the old man's character and on his devotion to his hero son:

"Vendôme, December 27, 1762.

A great load has been taken off my shoulders—since I am free from the horrors of war which have threatened my son. . . . I have never ceased to fear the hazards of war and sickness for one who was born very frail but who has nevertheless borne up like a hero. I have given thanks to God who has not placed me in the situation of those who weep and are inconsolable. The news of peace fairly suffocates me with joy, especially since it seemed such a long way off. At first I was so overcome that I could neither speak nor move, but as soon as I recovered myself, I fell on my knees and recited the Te Deum crying all the while with joy. . . . He has arrived at Paris with his mother who was waiting for him at my daughter's in Lorraine where they were all charmed to find each other. My son has affairs at Paris . . . so I shall not expect him until after Easter."

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

REPRODUCTION OF A PAINTING OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, IN THE SALON OF ROCHAMBEAU CHÂTEAU

It is a copy of the picture painted for the King by Van Blarenberghe. Rochambeau speaks of this painting and its companion picture in his correspondence with General Washington, as described in the text. The originals are in the National Museum at Versailles. The other picture, reproduced later, shows the Surrender.

The next period in Rochambeau's life is obscure. In 1766 he was accorded the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis, and in 1776 he was made Governor of Villefranche. Sometime during that period he took up his residence in Paris at No. 40 in the Rue Cherche Midi. The building is today much the same as it was then. His health, always precarious, had been greatly injured by wounds and exposure; therefore, early in 1780 he had decided to go to his château at Rochambeau and had made all provisions for the journey when the courier came with the orders for him to report at once to Versailles. The story of the American campaign as regards New England is in another chapter. As far as experience and mastery of his profession was concerned, the General was in his prime; but the state of his health was not good, and the burden that the King put on him in the responsibility of the American expedition was heavy indeed. It is interesting to relate that he and Cornwallis became the best of friends after the war.

One might have supposed that the glories of Yorktown would have been the fitting termination of such an illustrious career, but no! Scarcely had the honors of the homecoming been conferred, when Rochambeau was again sent into active service as governor of Picardy. In

1788 he was a delegate to the Assembly of Notables which was the forerunner of the États Généreux. In 1789 the King sent him to be governor of Alsace, where he put down the first signs of revolutionary disorder with a strong hand. In 1791 he was made Maréchal of France, the highest military rank that the country had to bestow. In 1792, although he was sixty-seven years of age, he accepted command of sixty thousand men of the Army of the North, but, although his heart was willing, his body could not endure the load, and he was forced to retire to the quiet of his Vendôme estate.

The title of Maréchal which he held was the last to be given by King Louis before he went to the guillotine. Alas for the brave commander! The very fact that Louis had granted him such favor was enough to condemn him in the eyes of the Terrorists, and so they took him from his retreat, an old man of seventy, and imprisoned him in the Conciergerie in Paris. There is an anecdote with no historic foundation which relates that just as he was going to step into the wagon that bore the victims from the prison to the guillotine, the jailer pronounced the wagon full and said to him, "Step back, old Maréchal, your turn will come next." Another authority says that Rochambeau's statement that "he wouldn't have expected this treatment from his friend General Washington" helped spare his life.

The next day Robespierre fell and the Terror ended. On October 28, 1794, the Maréchal was released from prison and went at once to Rochambeau for those last eleven years of peace and quiet which he had so well earned. Yet those years were full of suffering, for the long life of battling had left marks that could never be healed. His good wife was his constant companion, and thanks to her help, he was able to prepare his Memoirs, which are a veritable history of France during the eighteenth century.

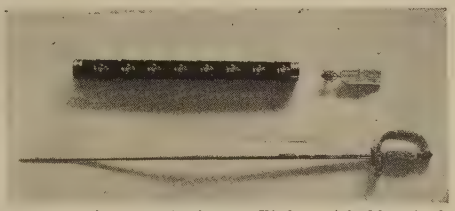
Yet one more high light was to shine for him. Napoleon held the Maréchal in high esteem. Before the Emperor started for the Spanish War, he came to Rochambeau with a group of his maréchaux and presented his respects to the old soldier.

"Monsieur de Rochambeau," he said, "here are your pupils."

"Sire," the old man replied, "they have greatly surpassed their master."

From the correspondence between Rochambeau and Washington, it is clear that the Maréchal kept a deep feeling for and a keen interest in America. But those last years of his life were so filled with work and suffering that he never enjoyed the privilege of a return voyage. He urged Washington to visit France, but that project was never realized.

Rochambeau died at his château on May 12, 1807, and was buried in the little cemetery of the village of Thoré, which lies just over the hill behind the Rochambeau château. His marble sepulchre is shaded by trees sprung from cuttings of trees planted by Washington at Mount Vernon. There was no pomp or elaborate ceremony for the interment. His life had been wonderfully full of action and signally rewarded with honors, yet he lived always in the simplicity of mind and spirit that characterizes greatness, and he died almost in obscurity.



Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

SWORD IN THE TROPHY ROOM AT ROCHAMBEAU'S CHÂTEAU, WORN BY THE GENERAL DURING HIS AMERICAN CAMPAIGNS; ALSO HIS MARÉCHAL DE FRANCE BÂTON, AND HIS CROSS OF THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI, OF WHICH SOCIETY HE WAS VERY PROUD AND OF WHICH HE WAS THE LEADING FRENCH MEMBER

. . . . . .

There are two waterways in France that bear the name Loire. The Lady, La Loire, is a queenly

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

ROCHAMBEAU CHÂTEAU IN THE HAMLET OF ROCHAMBEAU NEAR VENDÔME, FRANCE, WHERE THE FRENCH GENERAL LIVED

The waters of the Loir flow past the château. In the building are many objects of great interest alike to Americans and to Frenchmen. General Rochambeau was born here two hundred years ago and died here on May 12, 1807.

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

ROOM IN ROCHAMBEAU CHÂTEAU AT ROCHAMBEAU, NEAR VENDÔME, FRANCE, IN WHICH ROCHAMBEAU DIED

The tapestry on the bed and the chairs was woven by Madame, la Comtesse de Rochambeau, while her husband was leading the French armies in America.

river, the longest in the country, which has its beginnings in the mountains back of Chavaniac, the birthplace of Lafayette. It flows through a number of lordly cities whose names are written large in history: Le Puy, Nevers, Orléans, Blois, Tours; hers is the valley of the most beautiful châteaux in all France, out of which zone she comes to the great city of Nantes, whose name is so closely woven into the Huguenot story, and finally she reaches the ocean at St. Nazaire, which city was the principal port of entry for the American Army in the World War.

The Gentleman, Le Loir, is much less pretentious. His source is in the hills of Perche just below Chartres; his proudest cities are Châteaudun, Vendôme and La Flèche. At Angers he joins the Sarthe and the Mayenne to form the Maine—and the three lose themselves in the grand dame Loire not far from the last-named city. The ancient citadel of Vendôme sets high in the valley of the Loir, where the stream is yet young and where it flows nonchalantly through beautiful and fertile plains, its limpid waters reflecting the France that one calls "La Belle."

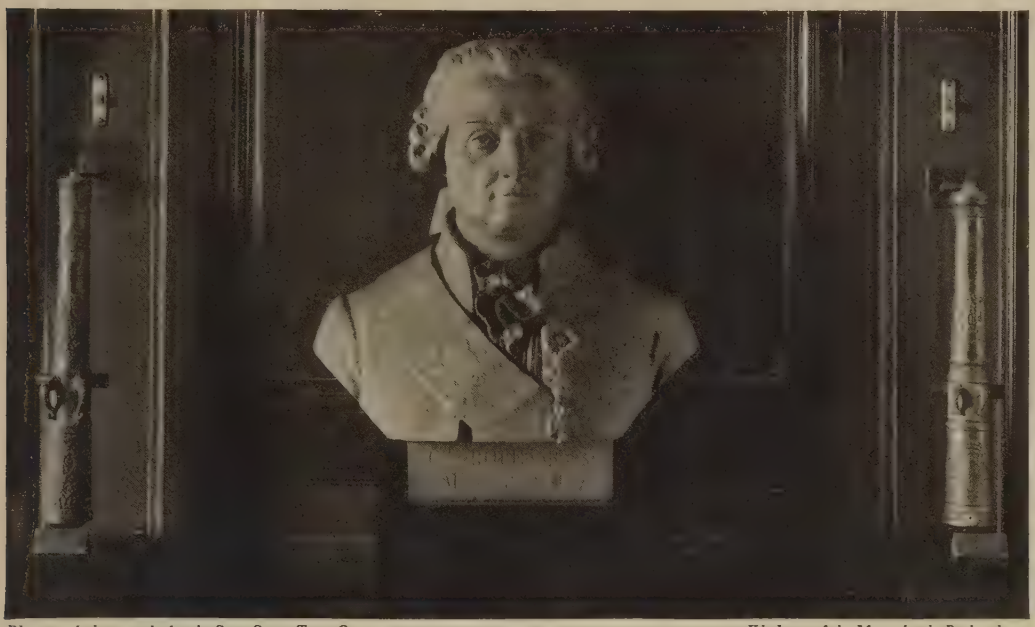
There was a Vendôme in the days of Roman Gaul, which city knew the mysteries of the Druids and saw the courage of Vercingetorix. All through the cycles when France was build-

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

SITTING ROOM NEAR THE ENTRANCE OF CHÂTEAU ROCHAMBEAU, AT VENDÔME, SHOWING ON THE WALLS THE ARMS OF THE ROCHAMBEAU FAMILY

ing out of countless little kingdoms, Vendôme kept its identity. Milestones of twenty centuries, and fragments of altars, temples and arenas, still bear witness to these early beginnings. Gigantic ruins of forts, towers and cavernous dungeons still tell of the feudal days when great earls and dukes fought and took each other prisoner. In the late fifteenth century, François de Bourbon and his wife, Marie de Luxembourg, brought the city to the peak of its glory. His grandson, Antoine de Bourbon, married Jeanne d'Albret, from which marriage came the great Henry IV—and it was Vendôme that witnessed the careless debaucheries of Antoine and the severe Protestantism of Jeanne.

Such was the city that came one day under the governorship of Joseph Charles de Vimeur, the father of the Count de Rochambeau, and in that atmosphere that comes only from such an historical heritage, the young Count Jean-Baptiste got the first impressions of his world. Another two centuries have passed since the boy Rochambeau first gazed in wonderment at the lofty ruins of the fortress and castles of other times. The Vendôme of today is a comfortable and unassuming little city of ten thousand souls; its glory is that of the past, and it boasts only its monuments and the "belle histoire" of which they are the lasting souvenirs. But there is at least one son of the city whose greatness reflects on modern times—and if Vendôme is proud of its long line of lords and earls, it has no less keen a joy in the glory of the Maréchal, the Count de Rochambeau.



Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

BUST OF ROCHAMBEAU

by an unknown artist, showing on each side the two cannons given to the Maréchal by Louis XVIII to replace those given by General Washington as souvenirs of Yorktown, which latter were destroyed during the French Revolution. They are in the Trophy Room of Château Rochambeau.

June 4, 1900, was a day more rare than the wonted rareness of June days. The sun shone as if to order. At six o'clock a cannon boomed from a fort on the heights, proclaiming the opening of a great day of celebration. At ten, a solemn high mass was said in the grand old church of the Trinity, for the repose of the souls of all the soldier-sons of Vendôme who had died for the Patrie. From the mass, the crowd went out to the Place St. Martin which had been transformed into a veritable bower of flowers. There in the midst of it was the motive of the fête—a noble statue in bronze of the Maréchal de Rochambeau. There stood the old soldier, his right arm stretched out as if directing a manœuvre, his left holding a plan of Yorktown; at his feet, a captured cannon and a branch of laurel. Best of all, this fine work was that of one Ferdinand Hamar, another son of Vendôme.

At noon the ceremonies began with shouts from the crowd: "Vive l'Amérique! Vive Rochambeau!" The amiable mayor called on a *savant* of the city to rehearse the life of the Maréchal, after which General Porter, the American Ambassador to France, replied with just praise of the statue and with assurances of America's never-failing loyalty and gratitude. Then the whole assembly marched to Thoré, where there were fitting exercises at the tomb of Rochambeau. That evening there was a gorgeous banquet and a kermis with no end of fireworks. "In all," says a local historian, "it was a good and beautiful day for our city, which now possesses in bronze the image of her two most illustrious sons." (The other is that of Ronsard, the poet.)

The château of Rochambeau stands today as it did in his time. Outside, nothing is changed. The quiet waters of the Loir flow by within a stone's throw of the terrace—and

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

TOMB OF ROCHAMBEAU AT THORÉ, NEAR VENDÔME, FRANCE,

showing on the right in the midst of the flower bed two trees grown from slips taken from trees near Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon. They were sent over some years ago to France by the ladies of the Mount Vernon Society. The inscription on the monument is too much effaced to reproduce but is quoted in the text.

across the river there is a meadow backed by lovely trees which might well have tempted the brushes of Corot or Troyon. The gardens tell of tender care, and the walks wind in and out among beautiful flower beds. The main driveway stretches out into that wonderful avenue of linden trees where one looks down into an almost endless vista of delicate green arches.

Within, the ravages of time and the elements have necessitated many repairs and some alterations—but for the most part the old homestead is much as it was in the days when the good Maréchal walked from room to room in quiet musing or sat to dictate his Memoirs. The entrance is through the eastern wing into a great sitting-room whose walls are literally covered with the family arms. Adjoining is the billiard-room, and then a salon where hang the family portraits. The large oil painting of the Maréchal was copied some years ago for the salon of the "Rochambeau," the transatlantic liner that sails for the French line. Then there is his soldier son who served with him in America. That of the Countess, the Maréchale de Rochambeau, was painted at the time of her marriage and is exquisite. On the west wall of the same room are excellent copies of the two "gouaches" of the siege of Yorktown, painted for the King by Van Blarenberghe. The originals are today in the National Museum at Versailles. In his correspondence with Washington, Rochambeau speaks of these paintings.

Photographed expressly for the State Street Trust Company *Kindness of the Marquise de Rochambeau*

REPRODUCTION OF A PAINTING SHOWING THE DEFEATED ARMY PASSING IN REVIEW BEFORE THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH ARMIES AFTER YORKTOWN

The original is in Château Rochambeau.

"There have been presented to the King, my dear General, two pictures to put in his study, which have been done by an excellent painter, one representing the Siege of York, the other the defile of the British Army between the American and French Armies.

Monsieur le Maréchal de Ségur promised me copies of them which I shall place in my study on the right and left of your picture. Besides that they are excellent paintings, they have been drawn by the truth and by an excellent design by the young Berthier, who was deputed quartermaster at the said siege."

The next room is a sort of trophy museum. A plaster bust of the Maréchal stands at the centre of one wall, and on either side are the cannons which were presented to him by Louis XVIII to replace those that Washington had given as a souvenir of Yorktown—the latter were melted into cannon for the Revolution by the insurgents. A glass case protects the famous sword which Rochambeau carried in America, also his cross of the Order of Cincinnatus, his baton of Maréchal of France, and the elaborate gold-brocaded cape of the Order of St. Louis.

The room in which the Maréchal died has been preserved as a sacred memorial. It has suffered no change in more than a hundred years. There are the furniture and the hangings worked by the faithful Countess during her husband's absence in America. A century and a half have in no way marred their beauty. The portrait of Washington belongs beside the bed, but unhappily at the time these pictures were taken, it was at the Exposition des Maréchaux in Paris.

The château is the principal dwelling in the little hamlet of Rochambeau, a group of perhaps a dozen houses and a score of very simple country folk. It is today as it has always been, dependent on the village of Thoré, which is a mile and a half distant, for its postal service and its administration. The family plot of the Rochambeaux is in the little cemetery of

Thoré: a rustic, country graveyard, unkempt and forlorn, but glorious as the last resting-place of the beloved soldier. The tomb has weathered badly; the inscription on the east side is scarcely legible, but that on the western exposure is still quite clear and is shown in an illustration. The inscription translated from the French reads:

HERE LIES
JEAN BAPTISTE DONATIEN DE VIMEUR, MARÉCHAL DE ROCHAMBEAU,
BORN JULY 1, 1725, DIED MAY 12, 1807,
COMMENCED HIS MILITARY CAREER IN 1741, AT THE AGE OF 16 YEARS.
FROM 1741 to 1748
LA BOHÈME, LA BAVIÈRE, L'ALSACE, LE BRISGAU, LE BRABANT (RAMOUX)
SAW HIS ZEAL FLAME, HIS BLOOD FLOW, AND HIS TALENTS FORM.
FROM 1756 TO 1762
HE DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF AMONG THE CONQUERORS OF MAHON.
PASSING INTO GERMANY HE WAS DETACHED WITH FOUR THOUSAND MEN TOWARDS HALBERSTA.
HE MADE HIMSELF MASTER OF THE FORTRESS OF REGEUNSTEIN, TOOK 14 CANNONS,
TOOK A PRUSSIAN GARRISON PRISONER,
COVERED THE MARCH OF THE ARMY AFTER THE BATTLE OF CREWELD,
EXPLOITED EVERY ADVANTAGE IN THE TIME OF DISASTER,
STOOD OUT AT MINDEN, MUNDEN, CORBACH, CLOSTERCAMP, GRINBERG, FELINGAUSEN,
COVERING THE RETREATS OR DECIDING THE VICTORIES.
FROM 1780 TO 1782
HE TOOK THE FRENCH ARMY TO THE AID OF THE AMERICANS,
CAPTURED YORKTOWN,
DISARMED THE ENGLISH ARMY,
ASSURED THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA,
WAS THE INTIMATE FRIEND OF WASHINGTON.
IN 1790
HE WAS MADE MARÉCHAL OF FRANCE AND WAS SENT TO COMMAND THE ARMY OF FLANDERS
BUT THE EVER INCREASING ANARCHY MADE HIM LOSE HOPE OF BEING ANY FURTHER
USE TO THE PATRIE.
AFTER FIFTY YEARS OF GLORIOUS SERVICES
HE RETURNED TO THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY
TO CLOSE HIS LIFE
IN THE EXERCISE OF ALL THE VIRTUES.

Certain lines from the obscure slab give ample witness to the devotion of the Countess de Rochambeau:

"A model as admirable in his family as in his armies, an enlightened mind, indulgent, ever thinking of the interest of others . . . a happy and honored old age has been for him the crowning of a spotless life. . . . Those who had been his vassals had become his children. . . . His tomb awaits me; before descending into it I have desired to engrave upon it the memory of so many merits and virtues, as a token of gratitude for fifty years of happiness."

The Maréchale outlived her husband by seventeen years and died at the age of ninety-four, on May 19, 1824. She is buried in the same vault which holds the remains of her distinguished husband.

Some years ago the French Ambassador at Washington interested the ladies of the Mount Vernon Association to send some slips from the trees at Washington's tomb to be planted at Rochambeau's grave. Those little shoots, seen in the picture of the tomb, are growing steadily, and, like their fellows at Lagrange, they are a simple and natural emblem of a great friendship.

THE MARCHES AND CAMP SITES OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN NEW ENGLAND

THERE were three distinct marches of the French troops while in this country, one made by the main army from its camp in Newport, via Providence and the Hudson River to Yorktown in 1781, and the long return journey after the victory, the last part of the march being through Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts to Boston. De Lauzun and his troop of cavalry on the westward march of the army made a covering march on the left flank to the Hudson River from their winter quarters in Lebanon, Connecticut, taking a more southerly route to protect the infantry from possible surprise. By avoiding the coast towns it was hoped that the movements of the army would be better concealed from the enemy. We have attempted, for the first time we believe, to describe these routes and the many different camps on New England soil from personal visits to most of these localities and have made a special study of the "hike," to use a modern expression, from Salem, New York, to Boston, traveling over almost the entire route by motor. To these personal investigations have been added any accounts of this return journey of over seven hundred miles that could be found, written either by Americans or French officers. No work as far as we have seen gives more than a casual description of these historical events, and most of the town histories rarely mention the occurrence. It was a difficult matter to follow the old highways over which the French marched for the reason that some have been overgrown and fallen into disuse, while other roads are still used but serve really only as cart paths, though used occasionally by motorists. The state highways of Connecticut usually run north and south across the lines of march and are of little assistance in tracing the exact route. The three lines of march are shown very clearly in the accompanying illustration which is reproduced from the very rare map in the Library of Congress in Washington entitled "Côté de Yorktown à Boston—Marches de l'armée" (1782). The map itself is over five feet long and the camp sites on all three routes are numbered. There are also three smaller folding maps in the same library, reproduced from the large one, entitled "Marche de l'armée Française de Providence à la Rivière du Nord," (1781). The routes are also shown in Volume IV of "Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise," by François Soules and published in Paris in 1787. One of the most valuable pamphlets among the Rochambeau material in the Library of Congress contains colored contemporary drawings made by the French army of the fifty-four camps on the march from Yorktown to Boston in the autumn of 1782, entitled "Amérique Campagne, 1782. Plans des différents camps occupés par l'Armée aux ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau." The positions of the artillery are given in red and those of the infantry in yellow. We have reproduced these camp sites in the nine most important places of New England. By means of these Rochambeau diagrams and with the assistance of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and Hon. F. Clarence Bissell of Hartford; of Mr. George L. Rockwell of Ridgefield; of Messrs. John R. Hess, Howard W. Preston and Howard M. Chapin of Providence; and of Mr. Julius H. Tuttle of the Massachusetts and Dedham Historical Societies, and numerous persons in each locality, whom we have thanked in the foreword, we have been able to locate almost exactly the twenty-eight camps in New England, most of which were used on both the western and eastern journeys. An effort has been made to get the State Park Commission of Connecticut to mark all the nineteen camp sites in that State and it is hoped that some time this will be done.

Pisk Kill
Salisbury
Sheffield
Sharon
Dover
Cornwall
Deerfield
Hatfield
Sunderland
Bulley
New Fairfield
Lichfield
Meeting House
Springfield
Suffield
HARTFORD
Wallingford
Willington
Lebanon
Norwich
New London
Windham
Plainfield
Pomfret
Killingsley
Canterbury
Hebron
Marlborough
Colchester
Lexington
Woburn
Sherburn
Walham
Medway
Natick
Cambridge
Malden
Dedham
Needham
Roxbury
Dorchester
Milton
BOSTON
Charlestown
Weymouth
Braintree
Hingham
Scituate
Harrington
Dighton
Rayham
Rochester
Marion
Plymouth
Barnstable
Sandwich
Falmouth
Nantucket
Martha's Vineyard
Rhode Island
NEW-PORT
PROVIDENCE
Warwick
Warren
Bristol
Tiverton
Stonington
Preston
Windham
Mansfield
Coventry
Farmington
Litchfield
Woodbury
Newtown
Danbury
Ridgefield
Stamford
Norwalk
Fairfield
Stratford
Milford
Derby
Newhaven
Guilford
Branford
Wallingford
Middletown
Haddam
Durham
Northampton
Springfield
Hadley
Hatfield
Deerfield
Greenfield
Brookfield
Leicester
Worcester
Shrewsbury
Marlborough
Northborough
Westborough
Southborough
Framingham
Sudbury
Concord
Lincoln
Weston
Waltham
Newton
Brookline
Dedham
Medfield
Wrentham
Attleborough
Taunton
Dighton
Somerset
Swanzey
Rehoboth
Seekonk
Pawtucket
Providence
Cranston
Warwick
East Greenwich
North Kingstown
South Kingstown
Charlestown
Westerly
Stonington
Groton
New London
Lyme
Saybrook
Killingworth
Guilford
Branford
New Haven
Milford
Stratford
Fairfield
Norwalk
Stamford
Greenwich
Rye
Harrison
White Plains
Bedford
Pound Ridge
North Castle
Peekskill
Fishkill
Poughkeepsie
Rhinebeck
Kinderhook
Claverack
Hudson
Livingston
Germantown
Red Hook
Rhinebeck
Poughkeepsie
Fishkill
Peekskill
Verplanck's Point
Stony Point
King's Ferry
Haverstraw
Orangetown
Clarkstown
Ramapo
Mount Hope
Hackensack
Paramus
Saddle River
Ho-Ho-Kus
Ridgewood
Franklin
Wyckoff
Pompton
Pequannock
Morristown
Whippany
Parsippany
Hanover
Chatham
Springfield
Elizabethtown
Newark
Bloomfield
Orange
Caldwell
Livingston
Millburn
Short Hills
Springfield
Westfield
Scotch Plains
Rahway
Woodbridge
Piscataway
New Brunswick
Princeton
Trenton
Bordentown
Burlington
Mount Holly
Evesham
Haddonfield
Gloucester
Camden
Salem
Cohansey
Greenwich
Bridgeton
Deerfield
Fairfield
Cumberland
Hopewell
Maurice River
Dennis
Egg Harbour
Great Egg Harbour
Absecon
Somers Point
Cape May
Cape Island
Middle Township
Upper Township
Tuckahoe
Great Egg Harbour
Mullica Hill
Woodbury

Soon after the French officers returned from the Wethersfield conference, about May 26th, 1781, preparations for the march south were begun in earnest, Rochambeau himself superintending the activities. On the last day of May Rochambeau wrote to Governor Greene: "I am quite ready to move with the French body from Newport," and asked an order "to impress all the wagons that are on Rhode Island for carrying our baggage as far as Bristol Ferry," and another order "to impress the wagons of farmers between Bristol Ferry and Providence to carry the same to Providence." On June 8th de Lauzun came from his headquarters in Connecticut with a message from General Washington and on the following day Rochambeau issued orders for the first division, composed of the Bourbonnais brigade, which included the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, and the Soissonnais brigade which included also the Saint Onge regiment, to embark on the following day. "On the 10th of June at five o'clock in the morning," says Count de Deux-Ponts, "the brigade of Bourbonnais embarked upon the little boats that were awaiting them, and only reached Providence at nine o'clock in the evening. It was impossible the same evening to lay out the camp, to pitch the tents and to get the necessary straw and wood. The Baron de Viomenil got for that night from the town authorities some large empty houses, where he lodged the soldiers; and the next day, the 11th, at six o'clock in the morning we encamped upon the height which commands Providence on the West. The brigade of Soissonnais arrived the same day and encamped on our left." The houses used were probably the Market House, now the Chamber of Commerce, and the Work House, no longer standing. The Providence camp, according to Judge Staples, one of the historians of that city, was at Hayward Park, then an open plain; it had been occupied for a short time by Lauzun's cavalry on its way to Lebanon. Here the troops remained for about a week. On the 14th, General Rochambeau bade adieu to his many friends in Newport and arrived at Providence via Bristol on the same day. Two days later Baron de Viomenil held a review of the troops preparatory to the campaign. Of their departure from Newport where the French had been for eleven months, de Closen, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, who left his fiancée to come with the troops, in his most complete diary (the only copy of which is in the Library of Congress of Washington), says:

"Besides the military objective about which I knew more than the others and which I knew would be most interesting and would give us a most interesting campaign, we looked forward to many other pleasures, *i.e.* seeing a new country, making new acquaintances and learning and knowing the other provinces and their habits as well as the products and the commerce of the good Americans."

Of the journey itself he adds that:

"the country between Providence and Bristol is charming—we were transported into the Garden of Eden, the roads were bordered with locust trees now in bloom and spreading a delicious perfume almost too strong."

There is mentioned in the Providence Town Records on April 18th the movements of the French army when the Town Meeting appointed a committee to provide quarters for the French officers at the expense of the Town. It also granted the upper part of the Market House and part of the lower room for storing the baggage of the army. A week before, the town granted the whole of the Market House for this purpose, but this was evidently found to be inexpedient.

During the stay in West Providence horses were collected for the artillery and the ambulances, while wagons and oxen were procured for the conveyance of the baggage. This delay was also made in order to wait for four hundred and fifty French soldiers who on the 11th arrived at Boston on the "Sagittaire" and other vessels from France. They reached Providence

several days later and with them came funds so necessary for the journey. Rochambeau in a letter to Washington, dated June 15th, mentions this recent arrival of these reinforcements.

"Of my troops that have been landed to-day at Boston, there are four hundred in good condition to do duty, and two hundred and sixty attacked by scurvy. The four hundred will arrive here on Sunday, and on Monday, the 18th, I will set off with the regiment of Bourbonnais. The horses, the artillery and the wagons are arriving from different places, and I hope that the movement of every regiment will go on very regularly on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. I shall leave two companies of artillery, that will be ready to be embarked."

Du Bourg, another of Rochambeau's aides who had just visited Governor Hancock in Boston, also refers to this event in his diary under date of June 14th:

"I left Boston in the evening for Providence, and slept at Dhedham (meaning Dedham), where I found a reinforcement of seven hundred men (the number was exaggerated) which came by the convoy, and were on their way to join the army; for want of a bed I settled myself on a chair."

On the following day he left at four o'clock in the morning for Providence where he joined the troops. The well-known Regimental Chaplain Abbé Robin also arrived by way of Boston in time to make the southern journey, being much impressed with the "enormous machines with which men master the waves." Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham also mentions this arrival of reinforcements in his diary: "June 14. French Troops pass from Boston to Rh. Island." Three days later appears this ambiguous sentence: "Went Interpret French Jerry Fisher." The same diarist during that winter records a feat that few doctors would undertake today, "Went Roxbury visit sick on Scaits before Breakfast." A picture of several pages of this diary is given later on.

Claude Blanchard, the Commissary General of the Army, was sent on ahead to prepare the camp and arrange for the necessities of the men. Judging from his diary he, as well as de Fersen, encountered many difficulties in providing for the troops during the first days of the march, for the former writes:

"The Americans supplied us with nothing; we were obliged to purchase everything and to provide ourselves with the most trifling things. It is said that it is better to make war in an enemy's country than among one's friends. If this is an axiom, it acquires still more truth when war is made in a poor and exhausted country, where the men are possessed of little information, selfish and divided in their opinions. I stopped to dine at Waterman's tavern, the principal place of the county, the first station of the army, fifteen miles from Providence, say five leagues. The road is agreeable . . . we see few cultivated farms and meet with many rocks and tracts of sand. . . . At night, I lay at Plainfield, fifteen miles from Waterman's tavern. . . On the 17th, I set out at half after six for Windham, where I arrived at ten o'clock, after a journey of fifteen miles. The country is very similar to the environs of Plainfield; yet we see more pasture lands there, which are in the valleys. So we have to ascend and descend continually on this road. Plainfield and Windham are in Connecticut. Windham seemed to have sixty houses, all pretty; there is also a very handsome temple, called in this country a meeting-house. Lauzun's legion had spent the winter at Lebanon, which is only six miles from Windham. There is another village between Plainfield and Windham, called Sukland (for Scotland) which seemed to me to be very pretty, and where we also saw a temple. I lay at Bolton, where I was very sick, after a fatiguing march; it is eighteen miles from Windham to Bolton, and we had to ascend and descend. I saw some places cleared, that is to say, where the wood had been cut, and which are tilled.

. . . On the 18th, I arrived at Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, fourteen miles from Bolton; the road is fine. Before entering Hartford we pass by a ferry across the Connecticut river, which empties into the sea and carries vessels of seventy tons to Hartford. . . . After having paid some attention to my business, I went to dine with Colonel Wadsworth, whom I had known at Newport, the person who supplied our army. He has a handsome house very neatly furnished. He introduced me to the governor, Mr. Trumbull, who presides over the State of Connecticut, for there is a governor in every state, chosen by the people. I learnt at Hartford that General Greene, at the house of whose wife I had been at Providence, had obtained a considerable advantage in the south. . . .

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal" from a print in the collection of the late Colonel George L. Shepley

Kindness of the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin, Providence, Rhode Island

AN OLD FRENCH VIEW OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,

showing the city much as it was when the French army on several occasions camped within its borders.

On the 19th, I was particularly busy with a hospital which we were establishing at Hartford and I was, by way of parenthesis, compelled to fight, in presence of a great number of Americans, with three nurses who mutinied. I dined at the house of Mr. Alley, the superintendent of provisions. Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, somewhat smaller than Providence, is built in the same style; the streets are wider, but they are not all paved. We saw there two temples, and a third outside of the city, and a Court House or City Hall. The environs are fertile, especially the banks of the river, where very good pasturage is found. Before reaching Hartford and crossing the river, we find a village called East Hartford; it is there that our troops are to encamp. This village has only thirty houses and a temple; but three or four miles off are some houses which depend upon it. . . .

I did not leave Hartford until early on the 22d. M. de Rochambeau arrived on that day with our first division and he desired me to precede them. I dined and remained at Farmington, ten or twelve miles from Hartford. . . . Farmington is in a pleasant valley. I continued my journey and lay at Baron's Tavern (intended for Barnes Tavern in Southington, described more fully later), which is situated between two steep mountains.

On the next day, the 23d, to reach Breakneck for dinner I was obliged to follow a difficult road, to leave the valley and climb a mountain; so that Breakneck means to 'break one's neck.' From this place to Newtown, where I was to pass the night, is eighteen miles, more than half of which is in a bad road. . . .

Newtown is on a hill surrounded by hills which are still higher. There are only a hundred houses with two temples. . . .

I dined at Plainfield (New York), a very small village, where I found nothing but some fried ham and I lay at a place called Crampond. . . ."

The hospital mentioned above was either the one near the encampment at Hartford or the one at West Hartford. The latter has a particularly interesting history. The exact

Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings *Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford*

BOULDER IN THE NORTH CEMETERY, WEST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,

"in memory of French Soldiers who died in West Hartford during the Revolutionary War." It is a tradition that the soldiers who died on Talcott Mountain nearby were buried here. This burial ground, the oldest in the town, is on the right of the Farmington Road, on North Main Street.

site of this hospital camp is about two miles west of Bishop's Corner on the Farmington road, and is on the north side of Albany Avenue, northeast of a reservoir and some distance from the road. It was probably used as a winter hospital and a Hartfordite suggests that on account of its isolated situation, it may have been used for contagious cases. About twenty-five years ago the owner of this wood-lot in which the camp is situated, discovered some of the old stones from the camp fires of the French soldiers and placed them in the fire-places of his house on the south side of Albany Avenue near the Nurseries. This dwelling is now the property of Oswald Schumann, who is glad to show these relics of Revolutionary days to any one interested.

In 1888 Henry C. Whitman, a relative of Miss Mary L. Whitman who read a paper at the dedication of the memorial, visited the Talcott Mountain Camp and counted the remains of twenty-seven or twenty-eight of those fire-places which were circular in form, the upper stones having fallen in.

It is a tradition that the bodies of the French soldiers who died here were all buried in one grave, but the names of the men will probably never be learned. The record made by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs entitled "Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine" gives a complete and accurate list of the names of the French serving in this country, together with the towns in which any died, but unfortunately, while mentioning those who died in Newport, Providence and Boston, makes no record of those who died in Hartford. It is also a tradition that these French soldiers who died in the Talcott Mountain Camp were buried in the North Cemetery, on North Main Street in West Hartford, which one passes on the Farmington road and which is the oldest burial ground in the town. Here in May, 1923, the Sarah Whitman Hooker Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a boulder, the inscription reading:

"In memory of French Soldiers who died in West Hartford during the Revolutionary War."

Ambassador Jusserand was unable to be present at the unveiling but wrote a letter of appreciation.

Blanchard continued his journey until he met General Washington near the Hudson, describing thus the dinner and interview:

"On the road I met General Washington, who was going to review a part of his troops. He recognized me, stopped and invited me to dine with him at three o'clock. I repaired thither; there were twenty-five covers used by some officers of the army and a lady to whom the house belonged in which the general lodged. We dined under the tent. I was placed alongside of the general. One of his aides-de-camp did the honors. The table was served in the American style and pretty abundantly: vegetables, roast beef, lamb, chickens, salad dressed with nothing but vinegar, green peas, puddings and some pie, a kind of tart, greatly in use in England and among Americans, all this being put upon the table at the same time. . . . At the end of the dinner the cloth was removed and some Madeira wine was brought, which was passed around, whilst drinking different healths, to the king

of France, the French Army, etc. I rose when I heard General Washington ask for his horses, because I desired to have a conversation with him and Mr. Coster, the purveyor of our army, who had arrived and spoke French well. . . . Our conference being ended, the general proposed to us to return again to the table for a moment, whilst waiting for the time of departure. Again some healths were drunk, among others that of the Count de Grasse; then everyone rose from the table. I have dwelt upon the details of this dinner, because everything that relates to General Washington seems interesting to me.

I have already described his figure. His physiognomy has something grave and serious; but it is never stern, and, on the contrary, becomes softened by the most gracious and amiable smile. He is affable and converses with his officers familiarly and gaily. . . ."

The Marquis de Chastellux, one of the forty members of the French Academy, and Major General in the French army under Rochambeau, in his "Travels in North America," describes a journey he took with Lynch and Montesquieu, both later to become Colonels, leaving Newport on the 11th of November, 1780. They visited some of the towns where later the army encamped, and of these places we mention some of his observations. After praising the town of Providence with its handsome houses, and its flourishing commerce, the officers set out on horseback for Voluntown (now Sterling, Connecticut) stopping on the way at the Angel Inn in Scituate. At Voluntown they put up at Dorrance's Tavern, kept probably by a relative of the owner of the fields in which the army seven months later camped, but as Chastellux expressed it "neither my excellent supper nor the books of Mr. Dorrance, nor even the fine eyes of Miss Pearce, made my cart arrive." It came later with the aid of an extra hired horse. One reason for the restlessness of the Frenchman was the fact that on the conveyance was some wine intended to relieve the tedium of their long journey.

The Marquis was much impressed with the loyalty of the Americans, declaring that he had "not found two who have not borne arms, heard the whistling of balls." He was much pleased with the next town at which he stopped, Plainfield, which he claimed was "a camp fit for . . . even ten thousand men . . . ." and "might serve to cover Providence and Massachusetts." Of

From a photograph *Kindness of Col. A. Piatt Andrew*

JOAN OF ARC MONUMENT IN GLOUCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

This monument, which stands in front of the American Legion building, was erected in 1921 as a memorial to the fifty-seven sons of Gloucester who gave their lives in the World War. The equestrian statue was designed by Miss Anna Vaughn Hyatt (now Mrs. Archer M. Huntington) in her studio in Annisquam (a part of Gloucester), the model of the charger upon which Joan of Arc is mounted being a fire horse of Gloucester. It is a replica of the same statue erected on Riverside Drive in New York City and another replica stands on the heights above the Loire in Blois (France). The granite base and bronze tablets were designed by Frederick G. Hall, of Eastern Point, Gloucester, in co-operation with Bellows & Aldrich of Boston. Another New England town to adopt recently the Joan of Arc idea as a memorial is Plainfield, Connecticut, one of the places in which the French army camped on their march to Yorktown in 1780. To quote the words of Col. A. Piatt Andrew: "As Joan of Arc symbolizes many of the qualities of the spirit which animated this country and the world during the War and represents the country which was the battleground of the world in that war, it seemed particularly appropriate to use this figure for Gloucester's soldier monument. On the night of Sunday, July 3, 1921, the monument was dedicated with a ceremony which General Clarence R. Edwards and other participants have described as the most impressive ceremony they had ever witnessed. Surrounded by six flaming altars, with cannon firing and all the bells of Gloucester pealing, the whole community marched by, carrying torches and laying flowers at its base."

Canterbury, still further west, he wrote, that it offered "two positions . . . which might dispute the passage of the Quenebaugh. Six or seven miles farther," his account continues, "the country begins to open, and we descend agreeably to Windham. It is a very handsome little town, or rather it is the stock from which a handsome town will spring. There are forty or fifty houses pretty near each other, and so situated as to present the appearance of a large public square, and three large streets." Here he dined with de Lauzun, who was stationed here until his Hussars went to Lebanon. Journeying past Bolton, Chastellux and his friends reached East Hartford where they stopped at Mr. Marsh's inn. Proceeding to Hartford they found all the lodging houses taken by delegates from the four Eastern States which were holding an assembly there, but Colonel Wadsworth as usual came to the rescue and put him up. Chastellux spoke in a very complimentary way of his host, saying that "throughout all America, there is not one voice against him. . . . The Marquis de la Fayette judged extremely well therefore in getting Mr. de Corny to employ him, in furnishing the provisions necessary for the French troops which were then expected." Chastellux also visited Governor Trumbull while at Hartford. At Farmington he stopped in the private home of a Mr. Lewis, a proceeding very customary in those early days in New England. After visiting parts of New York State and Pennsylvania the French General returned on January 9th to Newport via Lebanon, where he and de Lauzun had their famous squirrel-hunt described in another book.

To return to the army at Providence, Lieutenant-General Count Mathieu Dumas shared with Blanchard under orders of M. de Béville, Quartermaster-General, the responsibilities of selecting the camp sites for the army and previously had been intrusted with the establishment of the Legion of Lauzun in Connecticut.

The army itself began to leave the capital of Rhode Island two days after its Commissary, Blanchard; the Regiment of Bourbonnais with Rochambeau and Chastellux at its head, early on the 18th; Royal Deux-Ponts with Baron de Viomenil in command on the 19th; Soissonnais under Count de Viomenil, brother of the Baron, on the 20th, followed by the Saint Onge on the 21st commanded by Count de Custine. It is said that many people were present to cheer the French on their long journey. Every man in five was supplied with a bottle of vinegar, a spoonful of which was added to the drinking water in order to kill the malaria germs. It is also recorded that through the foresight of St. Maime the Soissonnais were provided with linen trousers on account of the heat, which at times was so intense that many of the troops fainted. Keeping a day's march, of about fifteen miles, apart, these four regiments, each with its share of the field artillery, camp wagons and ambulance corps, made its second camp south of the road leading to Waterman's Tavern in Coventry, Rhode Island, passing by Knightsville and Kent. Of this first day from Providence, de Closen, one of Rochambeau's aides, gives the best account:

"The Army will divide its provisions for man and beast and camp in different place that it may not be a burden to the inhabitants. . . . Wishing to perform a double service for a time, I began by mounting guard the evening of our departure from Providence and I decided with the General's permission to march with the regiment the first days of the march that I might perform some act of service for my comrades and not let them do everything for me. The 19th I left with Deux-Ponts. M. de Viomenil (the elder) was the superior officer in command of this Division. Our first day's march was very exhausting, owing to the bad roads between Providence and Waterman's Tavern, for that matter the troops always march badly the first days of a march. The artillery arrived very late."

The actual camp ground at Coventry was in the fields opposite Waterman's Tavern, described more fully on the return march. The third camp was made at Plainfield in Windham

County, Connecticut, several miles beyond Voluntown, called by the French on their map Walentown, now Sterling. It is said that a hundred or so schoolboys gave our allies an enthusiastic welcome as they came into the town. Cromot du Bourg, who was appointed an assistant Quartermaster-General while in America, writes that:

"We continued our route and came to Plainfield, the roads still quite bad, many struggles; the baggage and artillery arrived; there is at Plainfield a superb position for twelve or fifteen thousand men; it is beyond the village about a mile and a half on the road from Providence."

De Closen says:

"On the 20th we continued our march till we reached Plainfield which is composed of some thirty houses which surround the meeting house. The roads were still very bad. Plainfield offers an excellent protection for 10,000 men to oppose the enemy who would cross the Connecticut river."

Kindness of the late Mrs. Henry Dorrance and John E. Prior

THE CAPTAIN ELEAZER CADY HOUSE, PLAINFIELD, CONNECTICUT,

where commissary supplies were stored and where French officers were entertained while the army was encamped in the town on its march to Yorktown in 1781. This old house is on the road to Norwich, called Plainfield Street, which runs over Home Hill and overlooks the valley where the army camped.

The location of this camp, according to the late Mrs. Henry Dorrance, one of the leading authorities on the history of this part of Connecticut, was in the low lands northeast of, or opposite, the newer of the two cemeteries; going west it is between the two lines of railroad tracks and was north of and near the old Providence turnpike, over which coaches traveled with difficulty in the olden days. Few traces of this road remain. The present through road, built about 1800, was cut through Burial Hill, a trifle further south of the old highway which was traveled by the French and which can still be seen with difficulty. This road to Providence is today occasionally attempted by a motorist, who probably would not enjoy repeating the performance. Half a mile from the camp on the heights above, called Home Hill, on the Norwich road, called Plainfield street, is Mrs. Dorrance's old farmhouse that looks down upon the valley and the camp site towards the west; here Joanna Pemberton Cady received a detachment of French officers, an event so graphically described by Mrs. Jonathan Sturges in her Reminiscences:

"I remember hearing stories of that time related by Grandma Smith, of the grand French dinner prepared at their house for another party, and a third were quartered in the house of my grandmother Cady. At this last place the army supplies were sent the day before and carefully locked in a store-room outside, the next day a middle aged man arrived who did not speak a word of English, but seemed very anxious about something which no-one could understand. At last he dropped upon his knees and began to pray. My Grandmother all at once recollected the arrival of the day before, took down the key and beckoned him to follow her. His shouts of thanksgiving quite equalled the prayer in earnestness; and he went to work immediately preparing the dinner for the officers who were to follow, and getting out the folding camp tables and laying them and making all arrangements. They had ample supplies of French wines, and were a long time at the table. . . . The officers were quartered among the best families on the village street."

Lafayette twice stayed at the Old Eaton Tavern in Plainfield, now standing, which also put up some of the officers of the French army on this June day in 1781. This Plainfield Camp

was situated about half way between the present towns of Canterbury and Sterling. In the town itself a most appropriate memorial statue of Joan of Arc has just been erected by St. John's Parish to commemorate the men of the town who fought in the World War, at the same time serving to recall the Revolutionary days when our French allies encamped within the borders of Plainfield. In Gloucester, Massachusetts, a similar idea has been carried out except that Joan of Arc is on horseback, a replica of that in Riverside Drive, New York. It was erected to commemorate the fifty-seven men who gave up their lives in the same cause.

The route then lay through Cantorbery, as it was called by the French, to Windham, northeast of Lebanon, which was the fourth stop, described by de Closen as a

"charming village and where I would say in passing were many pretty women at whose homes we spent the evening after dinner most agreeably. The roads improved and the men began to march better. Our camp was ½ hour away from here, situated by the side of a wood and the little river of Symgenick (probably the Shetucket) flowed in front of it. As we are a good distance from the enemy our camps are temporary ones more for comfort or convenience and all the fodder, etc., come from headquarters."

The exact location of this fourth camp on the westward route was on the Windham plains, south of and near the Bolton road, and east of the river mentioned above, almost a mile west of the town. Nine men are supposed to have deserted while the army was here. It is claimed that much silver of the French found its way into the pockets of the Windhamites during their short stay.

Another authority in writing of this part of the march says:

"Magnificent in appearance, superb in discipline, with banner and music, and all the pride and pomp of war, it passed in four divisions over the great highway through Voluntown (now Sterling), Plainfield, Canterbury, and Windham. All the country people far and wide flocked to the Providence road to see the brave array. Barrack-masters appointed by the Governor and his council met them at every stopping-place, and provided suitable accommodations. A hundred eager school-boys in Plainfield village gave them vociferous welcome. Encamping for a day or two in Windham, they were visited by all the leading patriots. Mr. Cogswell reports them 'a fine body of troops, under the best discipline; not the least disorder committed or damage done by them.' . . . They were followed day after day by long lines of baggage-wagons and stout carts bearing chests of silver money, guarded by French soldiers. It is quite probable that one of these divisions took the more northerly route to Hartford through Killingly, Pomfret and Ashford. Tradition confidently asserts the passing of the French army through these towns and points out the very place of their encampment in Abington. . . . "

Of this quiet country town of Windham which has changed but little since the Revolutionary days, du Bourg writes:

"June 20—We come to Windham. The village is very pretty, and there is also a very fine position this side of Windham, about a mile distant." (He probably refers to Camp 4 just described.)

Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Lieutenant Colonel of his Regiment, in his diary speaks of this same location:

"We encamped in a little valley, surrounded by woods. An hour after our arrival, a fire broke out in the woods on the left of the camp. We employed three hundred men, in trying to put it out, but did not succeed. The fire burnt only the brush and did not attack the large trees. This accident, appalling in every other country, caused no excitement among the Americans, whose country is full of forests. Sometimes even they are very glad, because it saves them the trouble of cutting down the trees to clear the land."

Of this same camp the French officer de Robertnier records in his diary, owned by the late Colonel George L. Shepley of Providence, "that it was near a beautiful river with a good wooden bridge, and that the army camped very quietly, but not very militarily."

Rochambeau wrote Washington from Windham, and the acknowledgment is among his published letters. Windhamites, by the way, boast also of their frog pond, as Bostonians are wont to do. It is claimed that on a certain day one of the country roads was covered with these animals seeking a better pond in which to spend the rest of their lives. A poet of the town mentions this event in these amusing lines:

"The direst fray in all the war
To shake King George's crown,
Was when the Bull-frogs marched at night
Against old Windham Town."

The writers of the town's history do not mention whether the frogs were trying to escape from the French!

The fifth camp was east of the church at Bolton, then in Hartford County but now in Tolland County, this march being most difficult according to the descriptions of both du Bourg and de Closen. The latter records:

"We reached Bolton the 22d with the greatest difficulty in the world. All the roads were frightful. From the side by which we arrived Bolton made a good appearance. The position I occupy is one half on a hill, at the foot of which we are encamped. The Presbyterian Minister of this place is a large stout man, with a generous amount of self possession, married, but being without children he suggested to the wife of the Grenadier of the Royal Deux Ponts, Gabel, to adopt one of her daughters whom he promised to care for as his own child and to close the bargain with 30 louis, but the Grenadier and his wife were too attached to their little four year old child and refused all M. Colton's often repeated offers, thus proving their unselfish devotion and fine character. This incident was printed in all the newspapers even in France."

On the 22d, General Rochambeau with his first division reached Hartford, camping at East Hartford, not far from the Connecticut River and on the return journey we will describe more in detail this interesting camp ground. The other three divisions arrived on the three following days, according to the prearranged schedule. Evidently our allies made an excellent impression on the residents of the city, for one of the newspapers of the day said:

"A finer body of men was never in arms, and no army was ever better furnished with everything necessary for a campaign. The exact discipline of the troops, and the attention of the officers to prevent any injury to individuals, have made the march of this army through the country very agreeable to the inhabitants; and it is with great pleasure we assure our readers, not a single disagreeable circumstance has taken place."

De Closen writes that on

"the 23rd we joined the regiment of Bourbonnais at East Hartford without experiencing our former difficulties as the roads over which we marched all were good. Headquarters were at Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, situated on the right bank of the Connecticut River, which is navigable for boats of 150 tonnage for 40 miles distance further up the River. East Hartford derives its name from the fact that the

Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings *Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford*

MONUMENT ON FRENCH HILL IN MARION, CONNECTICUT,

erected by the American-Irish Historical Society in memory of the encampment here on June 28, 1780, of the French army on its march from Providence, Rhode Island, to Yorktown. A medallion of Rochambeau is on the front and the names of many of the French officers on the reverse side. French Hill is a few yards on the right of the Meriden turnpike going westward.

Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings *Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford*

MEDALLION OF ROCHAMBEAU ON FRONT OF MONUMENT ON FRENCH HILL IN MARION, CONNECTICUT

The monument itself has been shown in another illustration.

River divides the town in two parts. In the afternoon I went to Weathersfield, a charming village 4 miles beyond Hartford. From a belfry I had one of the most beautiful views imaginable. A veritable panorama lay before my eyes.

The two days sojourn which each division made at Hartford were employed in repairing the artillery caissons and the wagons. The Royal Duponts lost three men up to now and the Soissonnais 9. During this interval troops, guns, animals, equipage and baggage were ferried across the river. . . ."

Du Bourg records under date of June 22:

"We reached Hartford easily enough; the road although heavy was even. June 23–24—We halted there to rest the troops and to make the necessary repairs to the artillery and baggage. Hartford is quite a considerable place, divided by the River of the same name. June 24—In the afternoon I went to see a charming spot called Weathersfield, four miles from East Hartford. It would be impossible to find prettier houses and a more beautiful view. I went up into the steeple of the church and saw the richest country I had yet seen in America. From this spot you can see for fifty miles around. (March of 12 miles)."

While at East Hartford it is understood that Mass was said, and one hundred years later on June 26, the centennial was celebrated in St. Peter's Church. The first Mass said in Connecticut was supposed to have been at Wethersfield at about this same time.

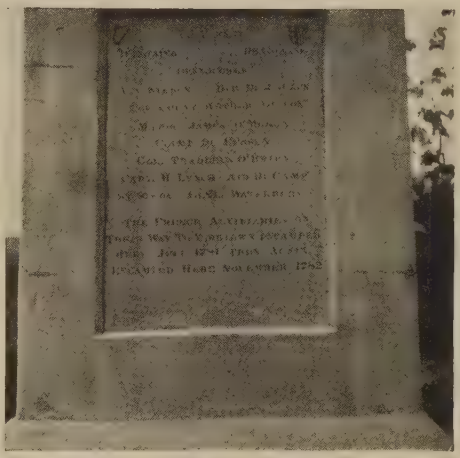
Reaching Hartford June 22, 1781, Rochambeau wrote to our Commander-in-chief the following day:

"I arrived here (Hartford) yesterday with the first regiment, which has been followed this day by the second, and will be so tomorrow by the third, and the day after by the fourth. I shall stay here this day and to-morrow to give time for our broken artillery carriages to be mended and our young artillery horses and oxen to refresh themselves. I shall set off the day after tomorrow with the first regiment for Newtown, the army to march in four divisions as before, and I shall probably arrive there on the 28th, and stay the 29th and 30th to assemble the brigades and march in two divisions to the North River. The corps of Lauzun will march as far advanced as my first division through Middletown, Wallingford, North Haven, Ripton and North Stratford, in which last place it will be on the 28th. . . ."

Washington replied from Peekskill that he would have liked to meet Rochambeau at Newtown but could not leave at that time. He further explained that Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb, one of his aides, would be the bearer of the reply.

The army took up its line of march, and south of the road at Farmington, referred to often as the "Village of Beautiful Homes," was its seventh stopping place, the camp being about a mile and a half beyond the town and described by du Bourg as one of the best situated of any so far. De Closen refers to this part of the journey in this manner:

"The regiment renews its march again the 26th en route for Farmington, a village of considerable size. The crossing of the Hartford Ferry only takes ½ hour as we are provided with many boats. At 3 miles from Hartford we saw a hill that would afford a marvelous position for 18,000 to prevent the enemy from crossing the Connecticut. At Hartford and Farmington woolen material is manufactured. They are very commercial towns."



Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings

Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford

INSCRIPTION ON ROCHAMBEAU MONUMENT ON FRENCH HILL IN MARION, CONNECTICUT

On this tablet appear the names of many important French officers, several being of Irish extraction.

The next camp was at Barn's Tavern, south of the line of march, in Bristol, located between Watterbury, as the French spelled it, and Southington, once part of Farmington; the army arrived there on June 28th. The name of the tavern is probably "Barnes'" so called for its landlord Ebenezer Barnes. As the rain was very heavy, one or more of the divisions were obliged to halt there several days. One encampment, as described by Rev. Heman R. Timlow in his "Sketches of Southington," was north of the town "on the hill side, stretching from where Martin W. Frisbie lives, to a point opposite Rodney Langdon" as handed down by some of the oldest inhabitants. Some of the divisions encamped nearby on French Hill, really no more than a mound, in the southwest part of the town a "North wall to Marion Village" as it has been often called. Marks of the camp pits were visible for over a hundred years and in the fields nearby have been found French coins, military buttons and other relics of the visit of the foreigners to this Connecticut village. The people of Southington and the nearby towns were enthusiastic in receiving their allies. Some of the officers had rooms at an inn on Queen Street while others put up at a hostelry near the North Centre School House. It is related that some of the most aristocratic houses in Southington were whitewashed, which very much puzzled the French, who believed them to be the remains of a military encampment such as they had seen in other parts of the world. Washington and Lafayette passed through the town, but an historian said that Southington was one of the few places he had ever heard of "in which these two had not slept!" Dr. Edward Robinson of Southington used to relate that his father entertained several of the French officers one afternoon at tea. Some sprigs of sage were on the table and one of the Frenchmen pointing to them said: "One do give dis de horse in my country." A ball was also given for the visitors at the nearby tavern of Landlord Barnes and many of the girls of the place used to boast that they had danced the cotillion with a French officer. So many of the officers patronized this tavern that its proprietor, it is stated, was able to retire from business soon afterwards. One of the Frenchmen, it is said, went into the building and ordered a bowl of milk, which he carried out to his favourite dog much to the surprise of the innkeeper. Dr. Frisbie states that the roads were almost impassable and that a large part of the army "passed by the way of Clark's Mills and took the road leading directly west."

This camp site at French Hill in Marion is on the right of the Meriden road going west and an excellent concrete monument, with a bronze plaque of Rochambeau, has been placed a few hundred yards down a small road that leads off the Meriden turnpike, the inscription on the front reading:

"Rochambeau Lieutenant General Commanding The Auxiliary French Armies under Washington
July 10, 1780 January 11, 1783
Done by Kelly 1912."

On the reverse side beneath an Irish harp and a banner composed of the Stars and Stripes and Fleurs-de-lis appear the names of De Ternay, d'Estaing, De Grasse, Destouches, von Steuben, Duc de Lauzun, de Fersen, Col. Count Arthur Dillon and three other Irishmen, Colonel O'Brion, O'Moran and Captain Lynch, the two latter having served under Colonel Dillon. O'Moran became later a general and lost his life by the guillotine.

Beneath the names appears this inscription:

"The French Auxiliaries on their way to Yorktown encamped here June, 1781. They again encamped here November, 1782."

At the back of the enclosure is a marble slab, placed there in memory of the men of the town who gave their lives in the Civil War and, rather inappropriately it would seem, on the end is inscribed:

Rochambeau's address to Washington: "I am the friend of your friends and the foe of your foes—I shall serve with all my ability henceforth under the command of your excellency."

This shaft, which was erected by the American-Irish Historical Society through the instrumentality of Capt. Lawrence O'Brien of New Haven, was dedicated on June 30, 1912, and on this occasion Judge John Walsh of New Britain said:

"The erection of this monument was advocated, planned and designed by patriotic citizens of Irish birth and descent to commemorate one of the most important incidents in the history of the State and Nation, when the great army of France which had sailed over 3000 miles across seas to assist the colonies in achieving their independence, traversed our little state on its way from Providence to Yorktown."

Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings *Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford*

CIVIL WAR TABLET IN REAR OF MEMORIAL ON FRENCH HILL IN MARION, CONNECTICUT

On the face is a quotation from one of Rochambeau's letters to General Washington, given in the text.

Governor Baldwin declared: "The French carried with them a splendor, a prestige, a precision of discipline, with which Connecticut's sons had nothing to compare." The dedicatory services were held on the William Munger farm near the site of the monument, Viscount Déjean representing Ambassador Jusserand.

Ten years later, Dennis H. Tierney of Waterbury raised funds and erected a memorial shown in an illustration, in East Farms Cemetery in Waterbury, to the two French soldiers who were buried nearby. The inscription reads:

"This memorial was erected by patriotic citizens and statesmen to commemorate two French soldiers of Rochambeau's army who volunteered to fight for American Independence under Washington, en route from Newport to Yorktown, died and were buried here 1781."

The route then lay through Waterbury and up West Side Hill to a place called Breakneck or Breakneck Hill, in Middlebury, an outlying locality west of the lower part of the town of Waterbury and towards Southbury, the camp location being described more fully later on. These two marches, the latter a very difficult one, are best described by de Closen

"The 27th we marched to Baron's Tavern (for Barnes) without experiencing much fatigue; but the following day we had most exhausting march before reaching Break-Neck, a name well deserved for the stoney roads and the endless mountains with which this part of the country is covered make the journey most dangerous for the traveler. Two very pretty young ladies whom we found at the home of M. de Vioménil seemed to appear out of space to receive us and to some extent to mitigate the miseries experienced in the morning. Our artillery and our wagons did not arrive, one by one, until 9 o'clock in the evening."

Du Bourg gives a briefer mention of this part of the march:

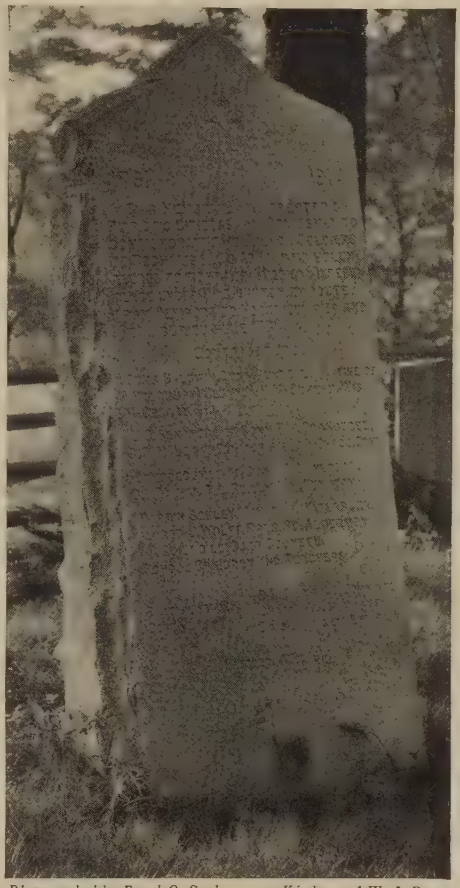
"June 26—In the morning we went to Baron's Tavern; the day's march was not fatiguing; the roads were very fine.

June 27—We left in the morning for Breakneck, which we had the greatest difficulty in reaching. The roads being difficult because of the mountains, our artillery was greatly delayed, and only arrived at nightfall. Breakneck is the English for Casse-cou; it well deserves the name from its difficult approach. The village is frightful and without resources. (March of 13 miles)."

The "History of Waterbury" by Joseph Anderson, recalls these days so well that we quote some paragraphs:

"In May, General Washington had again journeyed to Connecticut to meet Count de Rochambeau, and in all probability passed through Waterbury at that time. It was on or about June 21st—the date of the town meeting when the seven men were to be hired 'for hard money, provisions or cattle'—that the French army under General Rochambeau marched through Waterbury, on its way to meet Washington's army near King's Bridge. What welcome travelers the bonny Frenchmen must have proved themselves as they journeyed on, for they paid all their expenses in hard money, committing no depredations, and treating the inhabitants with great civility and propriety. The officers wore coats of white broadcloth trimmed with green, white underdress and hats with two corners, instead of three, (like the cocked hats worn by American officers). Sixteen months later the same army passed through Waterbury. An old inhabitant told Dr. Bronson that the soldiers marched two and two, and when the head of the column had disappeared beyond the hill at Capt. George Nichols' (the Dr. James Brown house, still standing, now undoubtedly the site of the Crosby High School), the other extremity had not come in sight on West Side hill. What a picture of Waterbury in 1781 that bit of description affords us! One could stand on the East Main Street hill, above its intersection with Mill Street, and have an unobstructed view to the top of West Side hill. . . .

The passage of the French army through our town in 1781, or in 1782, was marked by an encampment on Break Neck hill where it remained over one day to wash and bake. In consequence, all the wells in the neighborhood were drawn dry, and the French army had an opportunity to test the quality of the water in Hop brook. In 1781 the same army, impeded in its march to the westward by rain and freshets, encamped two or three days (the army remained only one day here) in Southington. The place of its encampment at that time is well established, as well as that of a second encampment



Photographed by Frank O. Seed, Waterbury, Connecticut — *Kindness of W. J. Pape, C. A. Dean and Rev. M. D. Tierney*

MONUMENT IN EAST FARMS CEMETERY, NEAR WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT,

erected by Dennis H. Tierney, whose family is descended from Admiral de Ternay, in memory of two French soldiers of Rochambeau's army who died near Waterbury on the march from Providence to Yorktown and who were interred in this burial ground. Their names are not known.

of the same army on French hill in the same town. The rows of 'white washed' Sabbath Day houses were of interest to the Frenchmen, who thought them the remains of a military encampment."

Of the Breakneck stay the same author says that "Rochambeau and his suite lodged at Israel Bronson's tavern, while the troops pitched their camp about a mile north of the church."

The line of march then extended through Woodbury and Southbury and then across the Housatonic River to the tenth camp southwest of, and almost in, Newtown, on the plain stretching westward from the present State road south of the middle district school and along the side hill that slopes to the eastward from the estate called Ronald Castle, situated high on a hill overlooking the town. "We halted there," writes du Bourg, "and should not have left it until the 2d of July but for the orders which M. de Rochambeau received from General Washington to hasten his march. . . . Newtown is a place of small importance. Our camp was very well placed there." This letter from General Washington was dated June 30th, urging the French Commander to "push on his troops with greater haste than he at present intends, and by a different route from that now in view." He also urged the greatest secrecy. Colonel Cobb on the same day reported to the American General from Newtown. "Orders are accordingly given for the march of the first brigade in the morning (July 1) and the Duke's legion which is now at New Stratford, will undoubtedly march at the same time. It will be at the place of destination at the time proposed, 12 o'clock. The rest of the army will follow when the other division arrives, which comes up tomorrow. . . . " This request necessitated Lauzun's legion leaving Bedford the same evening of its arrival, and also caused the Soissonnais to make a double march, as Deux-Ponts explains. Blanchard refers to his "selection of a site for a hospital in Newtown."

The "History of the Catholic Church in the New England States" refers in these lines to this encampment:

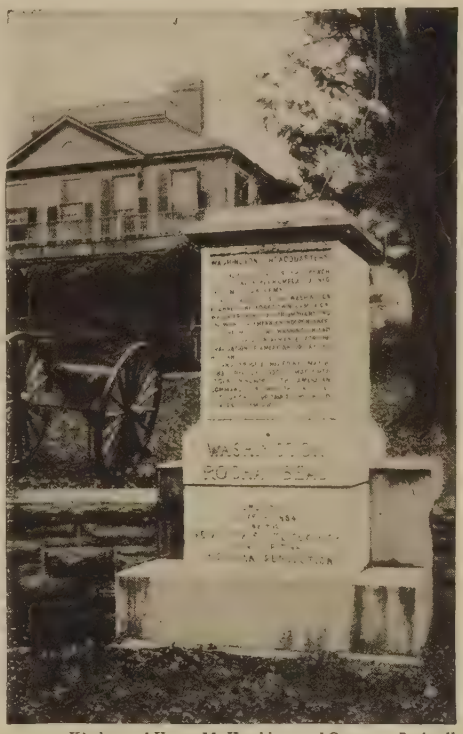
"At Newtown the Bourbonnais and the Royal Deux-Ponts united, as did also the Soissonnais and the Saintonge. In this order both brigades set out on July 1st for Bridgebury (Ridgebury) which they reached that evening. This was the last camp in Connecticut of Rochambeau's divisions on this march. At this point the army was diverted from the route originally planned on account of information received from General Washington. It was the intention to continue westward to Crompond and thence to King's Ferry on the Hudson, but instead, Rochambeau turned southward from Ridgebury and reached his eleventh camp at Bedford, New York, on July 2d, where he was joined by the legion of the Duke de Lauzun. The march was continued until July 7th, when a junction with the American forces was effected at Phillipsburg. . . . They carried 2,500,000 livres for Washington's poorly paid troops, besides an abundance of silver money for their own requirements. . . . "

One of the staunchest Tories of the place was Solomon Glover, who used to take to the woods when the Whigs appeared. On one occasion, however, he was caught in bed, the intruders amusing themselves by pricking him with their bayonets. On this same visit they discovered in the old brick oven some pumpkin pies, which they hurled at the dog. Mrs. Glover was very angry, but had sufficient sense of humour to remark that "the pies are good enough for the Whigs, but not good enough for my dog."

Continuing past Dambury, as the French spelled it, the eleventh camp was pitched at Ridgebury, the northern part of the present town of Ridgefield, and the twelfth across the New York line in Bedford where, as we have seen above, the main army and Lauzun's cavalry joined forces.

The French Troops arrived in Ridgebury in the northern part of the Township of Ridgefield on Sunday afternoon, July 1, 1781, proceeding from Danbury along the somewhat used

West Worcester Street, over Hull's Hill to the State road. Here they dragged their artillery wagons over Miry Brook, so called by the English, as their cannon became badly mired there. The route lay past the old Norris house in the township of Ridgefield in which a boy had just been born on the morning the French army passed by. When the news was made known to the French commander he requested the happy father to name the boy after the Chevalier de Lauzun, which was done. George L. Rockwell, of Ridgefield, who is familiar with the history of this part of Connecticut, says that there have been several de Lauzuns in the Norris and other families of this locality and that even one of his own relatives bears this name, which has been corrupted in some cases into Delazaun and and Delausun. The exact location of this camp is on the Danbury road, half a mile beyond the Norris house, on a large field now owned by Frank Benson, at the top of a hill on the right or north side of the road and easterly of and just before reaching the Ridgebury Congregational Church. The property used to belong to Samuel S. St. John. If one proceeds along this Danbury road one soon comes into Ridgebury Street and near the junction of these two lanes used to stand the old Keeler Tavern, conducted by Ensign Samuel Keeler. General Washington is said to have stopped here on his trip to Hartford from the Hudson River the preceding September on his way to meet Rochambeau. A few hundred yards up Ridgebury Street on the left is a farm now owned by William Bates and here were stationed the specie wagons, or pay carts, this land at that time belonging to Benjamin Lynes. Following this street further along one comes upon the South Ridgebury schoolhouse and almost a mile south of here on the beautiful hill opposite, the second division is supposed to have encamped. The old lane, formerly the main road, leads through these fields and can easily be seen today. Those who have studied the history of Ridgefield are confident that part of de Lauzun's corps camped as far north as here, one of the historians stating that "on July 2 Lauzun left his encampment at Ridgefield as he left hurriedly for East Chester, N.Y." Near this second camp is the farm of Samuel A. Coe, a Civil War veteran, who lost an arm in the war. He had a relative with Rochambeau. One would take him for a man of nearer sixty than eighty years of age as he showed us all the points of interest near by, his Baldwin apples making us almost forget the object of our visit. The troops stationed near the schoolhouse visited the large springs used in conjunction with a tannery in the rear of his home and from the vats the soldiers are said to have procured a large quantity of frogs, thus being able to gratify their taste for this delicacy. There are no signs of these camps in Ridgebury at the present time as the land has been plowed and cultivated for over a century until all traces have disappeared. It was



Kindness of Henry M. Hutchings and George L. Rockwell

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, DOBBS' FERRY, NEW YORK,

where the American and French armies united on July 6, 1781.

a coincidence that the date of the arrival of the French troops in Ridgebury was Count de Rochambeau's fifty-sixth birthday.

Du Bourg writes of the march in the western part of Connecticut:

"We took a position from which it was impossible to drive us. Our camp this side of Betford (Bedford). The grenadiers and chasseurs beyond the village, and the legion of Lauzun in advance.

July 3 . . . It is true that Messieurs de Custine and the Vicomte de Noailles set the example by marching the entire distance on foot at the head of their regiments."

The troops then continued to Philipsburg, not far from Dobbs' Ferry on the Hudson. Here there is a tablet reading as follows:

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

HERE JULY 6, 1781, THE FRENCH ALLIES UNDER ROCHAMBEAU JOINED THE AMERICAN ARMY.
HERE AUG. 14, 1781, WASHINGTON PLANNED THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN, WHICH BROUGHT TO A TRIUMPHANT END THE WAR FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.
HERE MAY 6, 1783, WASHINGTON AND SIR GUY CARLETON ARRANGED FOR THE EVACUATION OF AMERICAN SOIL BY THE BRITISH.
AND OPPOSITE THIS POINT MAY 8, 1783, A BRITISH SLOOP-OF-WAR FIRED 17 GUNS IN HONOR OF THE AMERICAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, THE FIRST SALUTE BY GREAT BRITAIN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WASHINGTON
ROCHAMBEAU

ERECTED JUNE 14, 1894, BY THE NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The actual crossing of the Hudson took place farther north, at King's Ferry, necessitating a long march through Crompond and Peekskill to Kingsbridge. The condition of our troops at this time is best described by de Closen in these words:

"I had the pleasure of seeing the American army, each individual man. These brave fellows made one's heart ache, they were almost without clothes, trousers and a little coat or jacket of linen, the greater number without socks, but can we believe it? In the best of spirits imaginable and looking healthy. One quarter were negroes, very determined and strong."

Washington refers to the arrival of the French in a letter of thanks:

"The Commander-in-Chief with pleasure embraces the earliest public opportunity of expressing his thanks to His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau for the unremitting zeal with which he has prosecuted his march in order to form the long-wished for junction between the French and American forces, an event which must afford the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country, and from which the happiest consequences are to be expected. The General entreats His Excellency, the Count, to convey to the officers and soldiers under his immediate command the grateful sense he entertains of the cheerfulness with which they performed so long and laborious a march at this extreme hot season. The regiment of Saint Onge is entitled to peculiar acknowledgments, for the spirit with which they continued and supported their march without one day's respite."

Again he wrote:

"KING'S FERRY, 21 AUGUST, 1781

Sir,

I have this moment the honor of your letter by Monsieur Blanchard. I am very sorry for the difficulties and impediments which fall in the way of your march, and hope they will decrease as you proceed. . . .

I shall be happy in your company to-morrow at dinner at my quarters, and will meet you at the Ferry to-morrow by eight o'clock, when we will either be furnished with some cold repast 'en passant,' or I will take you to my quarters, about three miles from the Ferry, where you shall be introduced to a warm breakfast."

In spite of Blanchard's statement it is evident that the inhabitants of most of the towns through which the troops passed did everything in their power to assist the soldiers, in many instances loaning their oxen and horses to assist in hauling the wagons over the difficult places. At every station barrack-masters appointed by Governor Trumbull and his council helped the allies and some accompanied them on their march. Rochambeau especially mentions Dr. Joshua Elderkin, of Windham, who joined with the French from the Rhode Island line to Hartford. It is also said that Thomas Boughton of Ridgebury, who resided opposite the Coe farm, at that time a very young man, joined the French army as a teamster, and was present with the troops at Yorktown. While passing through Woodbury, in Litchfield County, and not far from Waterbury, the girls of the town gave a dance for the visitors, all of which is described by William Cothren in his "History of Ancient Woodbury":

"This was a pretty direct route from Boston, and it was the general's design to keep at a safe distance from the coasts. They came through White Deer rocks (between Breakneck and Woodbury), where they were obliged to cut away trees, and remove stones, in order to transport their heavy baggage through the defile. The army encamped (possibly one division may have camped here) for the night in the town, in such companies as suited their convenience, and when they had pitched their tents, they extended all the way from Middle Quarter to White Oak, a distance of nearly three miles. That part which encamped near the house then occupied by David Sherman, and since by the late Gideon Sherman, eat for him, with his consent, twelve bushels of apples, as is related, and drank seven or eight barrels of new cider at his mill. During the evening they had a dance in which some of the Woodbury damsels joined with the polite French officers, in their gay uniforms, while others looked on. Multitudes of the inhabitants pressed about the tents of those patriotic foreigners, who had come so far to fight the battle of freedom for a suffering people, and destined to act so distinguished a part in bringing the long and bloody contest to a close. La Fayette (This is an error for La Fayette was not with the troops on their march), with his chief officers, lodged at the house of Hon. Daniel Sherman, and was waited on by all the principal men of the town. The late Mr. Ashbel Moody, and two or three other aged people, who recollected the scene, gave the writer a vivid description of the incidents of the occasion. Fired anew with martial courage by the fine display of the French troops, a considerable number of soldiers volunteered on the spot and marched with them on the following morning.

. . . After the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the army passed through town again on their return to take ship for their homes. The soldiers encamped on Breakneck Hill in Middlebury, about a mile north of the meeting-house. It derives its name from the circumstance of one of the cattle falling and breaking its neck in descending the hill, while employed in transporting the baggage of the troops. La Fayette (also a mistake) and some of his officers lodged in a tavern, in a valley eastward, then kept by Mr. Isaac Bronson."

It is stated in the former account that the army passed over Breakneck Hill, in Middlebury, near the north end of Quassapaug Lake, and that the hill was so called from the circumstance of the falling of one of the cattle in descending that hill, and breaking its neck. The army passed over that hill, but we find by the records of ancient Waterbury, that it had borne the name of Breakneck for more than half a century before this occurrence.

Stuart in his "Life of Jonathan Trumbull" so well describes the conditions met with by the troops that we also quote from his pen:

"Refreshments both for man and beast were added, at frequent intervals, to the stores which they brought along with them from Rhode Island. Ripe fruit from many orchards and gardens often regaled their taste. The apple-presses of the farmers yielded them hearty quaffs of cider . . . the brown jugs and oaken casks of the farmers' wives, frequent libations of excellent homebrewed beer.

Were their slow ox-teams, as once or twice happened, late in bringing to their encamping ground their tents and baggage—or at times, when wearied with a long day's march beneath the broiling sun, or with severe labor in cutting away trees, or removing stones for the passage through some defile of their heavy trains, did the troops court repose? Fresh horses and oxen from neighboring farms, freely loaned, hurried up their missing equipage—while many a comfortable bed in private

dwellings was hospitably offered to officers—of whom there were many—who, thoughtful of the spirits of their companies, encouragingly marched with them on foot, sharing with them in all hardships by the way—hardships, we are well assured, such as by the whole army, alike men and officers, were 'borne patiently and with perfect good humor.'

Or, unwearied by the exertions of the day's march, and witched with the beauty of damsels whom on the road they saw either pressing around their tents on some village green, or clustered near some mansion where they had their temporary quarters—did some officers of the strange army—following the impulse of natures proverbially and irresistibly gay—seek to wake each active power to the brisk measures of the dance? 'Fair, charming Connecticut girls' as de Warville describes them about this time—girls 'adorned with complexions' whose brilliancy mocked those of the sunny South—who were 'dressed in elegant simplicity'—who were safe under the protection of their own conscious innocence, and of high-toned public morals, who were 'so complaisant and so good,' as the French traveller expresses himself—tripped with them 'the light fantastic toe.'

'The Frenchman, easy, debonair, and brisk,
Found quick his lass, his fiddle, and his frisk—'

while many a hearty Connecticut lad, of strength sinewy enough to handle a firelock—'fired with Martial courage' by the imposing Gallic display—volunteered at once for the wars—and, his steps right onward, erect his form and movement, thinking to wear the plumed helmet with a grace, accompanied the regiments of Rochambeau on their march to the grand American camp."

Abbé Robin, who accompanied the Soissonnais Regiment, well describes the camp life of the Army on this march and its attendant hardships; he refers to Connecticut as the "Province of Connecticut."

"I found the army at Providence camped on a height. This is quite a town—well populated—the houses mostly wooden, though some are handsome and built of brick.

Having books to divert my mind from its fatigues, I write often and in place of ink use the sap from the fruit of an herb—happy if I may but be able to rest a while. But no—from 2 o'clock in the morning the noisy beating of the drum orders me to tear myself away from my hard bed; one must hastily pack up this ambulatory dwelling—mount one's horse or follow on foot. The slow march of the foot soldier bent beneath the weight of his knapsack. Arriving at the place destined for the camp one must still wait, during the best part of the day for the waggons carrying our baggage. The sun has almost run its course before our debilitated stomachs have performed their important functions; stretched out on the dusty grass panting with thirst, I often wished—like the rich man—that another Lazarus would dip the tip of his finger in water to quench my thirst. Our young leaders brought up in ease and luxury stand the strain with a courage which makes me blush at my weakness, whilst their abundant and frugal table offers to the officers an existence which without means and servants had been well nigh impossible; they encourage the soldiers by walking ahead of them.

The astonishing thing is always to find the French characteristic of gaiety on these painful marches. The Americans whom curiosity led by thousands to our camp, are received with joy; we play for them our military instruments which appeal to them greatly. Therefore, officers, soldiers and Americans, all mix and dance together; it is the feast of equality; the first fruits of the Alliance which should reign between these nations. The title of the Marquis' brother-in-law excited their curiosity and respect most. This was a very flattering distinction for the young American girls. Whatever will be the successes of this army, it will always have the glory of having left on this country, immortal impressions and of having made for all time the name of France precious—a work more flattering and perhaps more difficult than that of winning battles and making conquests.

The first object of our march was to reunite with the army of Washington. This reunion occurred at Philipsburg; the Americans arrived at the same time we did. They intrenched themselves first on the hills about West Point. The French Army on its march was first of all divided by regiment; on approaching New York County they united in brigades. Forced to march in a single column, to drag along its luggage by oxen, the march was slow and wearisome and occupied a space of many miles. There was the fear in the mountainous and still thickly wooded country—that small groups of the enemy might attack and burn the equipment and artillery, might cut the ligaments of the oxen and horses, and this before help could reach them. The losses would have been irreparable. A march of 215 miles (only part of the journey) during excessive heat, in a country practically without resources, where the soldier often had to go without bread and was obliged to carry his provisions many days, has nevertheless caused less illness than in the French garrisons. The attention of the superior officers

contributed largely to this, in not allowing the soldiers to drink the water without a portion of rum in it to destroy the germs. The Count St. Maime always sent ahead at each halting place and at each camp, hogsheads of cider and had it distributed to the troops at a very low price. This example was hereafter followed by other regiments, thereby producing a very good effect. I noticed that their soldiers are accustomed not to sleep on the ground while ours prefer to do so."

Another French account says of the behaviour of the troops:

"The army of Rochambeau, in its march from Newport to Yorktown, was so thoroughly well conducted, that there was not even a single instance of one of the soldiers taking an apple or a peach from an orchard without leave having been previously obtained. It was given out in general orders, that if a Frenchman should have a dispute with an American, the Frenchman should be punished, whether he was in the right or in the wrong, and this rule was strictly adhered to. I believe there is no example of anything similar in history.

Rochambeau told Washington that the French had crossed Connecticut without any complaints being made of them; on the contrary, the people received them with their blessings. He wrote to Barras from White Plains, on July 6th: 'We have made the most rapid march . . . without any dissatisfaction, without leaving a man behind us, except ten love-sick soldiers from the regiment of Soissonnais, who wanted to return to see their sweethearts at Newport and for whom I am going to send. Our junction was made with great acclamations on the part of the Americans.' And in a letter to Ségur he said: 'We have made 220 miles in eleven days march. There are not four provinces in the Kingdom of France where we could have traveled with as much order and economy, and without wanting for anything.' "

To cover the movement of the army the Duke de Lauzun, who had been collecting artillery horses for some time past, left his winter quarters on the village green of Lebanon, the home of Governor Trumbull, on June 23d, at about the same time that the French army reached Windham, marching at a distance of about fifteen miles to the south of the route taken by the main body. Lauzun's troops proceeded westward past Exeter and then separated into two divisions, one passing north of Turnerville through Hebron and Marlborough, continuing a course that led south of Lake Pocotopaug to Middletown, while the other detachment went by way of Colchester, Bulkley Hill, south of Moodus to East Haddam. The Colchester camp is traditionally said to have been on the Sherry Jackson place, on Sand Hill, at the foot of Taintor Hill, near Cabin Brook, about half a mile west of Colchester Village on the East Haddam turnpike. A junction of Lauzun's forces was probably made at Wallingford. While spending Sunday in Middletown it is said that the French officers held a dance under the beautiful trees in the Philip Mortimer grounds, formerly the property of Thomas Allen and later occupied by a Captain Hackstaff; it is also claimed that the soldiers carved their names on these trees and that the marks could be detected for many years afterwards. Captain Mortimer came from Boston and bought a beautiful place along the river, planting button-ball trees all the way to Main Street. It is said that he generously placed seats under the trees and opened the grounds to the public, and it is quite natural that the French should have selected this attractive site for their short festivities. The cemetery which originally was part of the Mortimer property is now in a good state of preservation. It is possible that their camp ground was near Mortimer's place, but even the oldest historians are unable to place it definitely. In fact, the information in the different towns concerning this march, as well as the camp sites, is in most cases very meagre. A distinguished Boston Colonel in the World War considers this lack of knowledge a great compliment to the French, for had they in any way misbehaved themselves the inhabitants of the towns along the line of march would have passed down from generation to generation more details of their whereabouts and particularly the unpleasant episodes. It may be interesting to recall that Nehemiah Hubbard, one of Middletown's most prominent citizens, served during the war in the quartermaster's

department under Colonel Wadsworth. From Middletown Lauzun's line of march extended through Wallingford, North Haven, New Stratford (now Monroe), Oxford, Ridgefield, to Bedford and thence to Phillipsburg.

The first camp of the northern detachment of the main army after leaving Lebanon was just north of Turnerville and North Pond. Mr. F. C. Bissell, late Deputy Comptroller and a trustworthy historian of this locality, writes to the Trust Company of this camp ground:

"The northern detachment camped the first night north of Turnerville. This I had from an old man, whose father lived nearby at the time and who showed to him the exact location on his farm near the old highway, now discontinued. Also he pointed out the stones, flat ones, which were turned up and used for temporary cooking places. He said the soldiers came to his house and bought milk, cheese, vegetables, etc. This evidence, knowing the man and his capabilities of remembrance, I consider conclusive. Further, I find that the tradition is that they passed through the section west of the village of Hebron on the road to Marlborough."

As to the southern route, the same authority says:

"In the 'Life of Governor Trumbull' it is mentioned that they camped for the first night near Gen. Champion's in Colchester. Tradition places this at the foot of the hill, west of Colchester village, near Cabin Brook in the vicinity. General Champion (commissary in the Revolutionary War) lived a little further west, however, in Westchester, that house now standing owned by D. A. Markham, a Hartford lawyer. I can find no one in Colchester today who has any tradition even, in regard to this worth noting. But I am inclined to place much more confidence in the Diary of Governor Trumbull, just quoted, who was intimately acquainted with the locality, than in any traditions now extant. He states positively that 'Duke de Lauzun marched early—went to Pine Swamp—near Col. Champion's.' There is such a locality today, about a mile east of Champion's."

The Northern detachment made its second camp at Middletown, the third being southeast of Wallingford as it is recorded on the map made by the French. The fourth camp was just across the river at Oxford, the fifth just south of a place called by the French New (sometimes North) Stratford and now Monroe; the sixth stopping place was near Ridgefield on July 2d, some historians stating that his camp was within half a mile of that of the main army, and the seventh just west of the main army at Bedford. Just before reaching Ridgefield the troops went through Redding where General Israel Putnam had his headquarters, (where later "Mark Twain" resided) and where lived a prominent citizen, Joel Barlow, who was sent on a mission by President Madison, dying in Paris in 1812. Charles Burr Todd in his "History of Redding" stated that "They passed through Redding on the march and encamped over night, it is said, on the old parade ground. Their supply train numbered 810 wagons, most of them drawn by two yoke of oxen and a horse leading."

Dr. Ezra Stiles, whom we have quoted before, records in his diary on the 26th of June that:

"I gave the subjects for Commencement Exercises to the Senior Class. This afternoon arrived and encamped here the Duke de Lazun with his Legion consistg of 300 Horse and 300 foot Light Infantry. They pitched their Tents in the new Town half a mile East of the College. I paid my Respects to the Duke and was received very politely at the House of the late Gen. Wooster. He does not expect much from the Congress at Vienna, nor does he expect Peace this year or next. He is marching to joyn G. Washington on No. River.

27. The French Troops marched at six o'clock this morng in their way thro' Darby. . . ."

As a further corroboration of Dr. Stiles' diary we find that in the "Salt-Box House" by the late Jane de Forest Shelton, of Derby, Connecticut, this author writes:

". . . De Lauzun, with his legion of six hundred men, cavalry, hussars, grenadiers, and lancers, passed through New Haven June 27, camped on Sentinel Hill, in Derby, then wound down the steep roads, crossed Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers, and took the winding way up the west bank of

the latter, finding it necessary at times to improve the road with a double corduroy for the passage of the heavy wagons. Finally, the steep ascent being made, the route wound around the upper hills till it reached "the Centre" of New Stratford, now the town of Monroe.

The road leading by such toilsome effort up from the river reached a level near the foot of Daniel's especial hill, and it was not possible for such a company to move unheralded. No man or boy, white or black, could be kept from a close inspection, while the women and girls contented themselves perforce with a more remote view.

Weary as the army was with the ascent, an array of six hundred men with all the splendor of gold lace and nodding plumes, the horses bravely caparisoned, and the retinue of 'five-cattle teams' that had been hired to convey the heavy baggage, was a rare sight to those whose knowledge of military display had been limited to the 'training' of one small company of men not even in uniform, or an occasional 'trooper' as he rode to his camp.

The army wound around the base of Barn Hill, and, passing the green at New Stratford after sunset, camped in a sloping meadow a little south of the village. It was in June, 'in clover-time,' and there were spent and hungry beasts of burden waiting under the star-lit skies for their well-earned meal, that would have been sadly insufficient if the patriotic William Scott had not rallied his neighbors and mowed his home-lot by the light of the rising moon.

The officers found comfortable quarters at the tavern kept by Hepzibah's brother Nehemiah. The French officers, de Lauzun, who spoke English readily, Dillon, de Hoen, and others, found interest and pleasure in this life. Comfortable quarters, a social and stirring host with good French blood in his veins, a man with natural ease, genial address and politeness of manner, of keen insight and discerning mind, contrasted agreeably with army life. The other gentlemen of the village were ready for all kind and hospitable entertainment, for friendliness and courtesy, and as the full moon made the summer evenings alluring, the musicians of the army called out the gentlemen's daughters, who, to prove their sympathy with the cause of freedom, danced with the officers on the green, one of them, alas! dancing her heart away.

While the army lingered a son was born to Nehemiah, and named for the commander of the legion, 'de Lauzun.' When camp was broken and farewells said, one of the officers left his rapier with the squire as a souvenir, the blade of which bears to the present day the inscription of the maker in Paris. (This is the same story we have mentioned in connection with the Ridgefield camp.)

This peaceful side of war held great charm, and every boy, were his sympathies Federal or Tory, sought the camp. . . .

So that army came and went, leaving one French soldier, Louis Luriche, on the hills, and this man told the story of the Frenchman's use of tobacco. In the early summer the tobacco, cultivated for many years in Connecticut, was in a small leaf. The soldiers never having seen it growing, marvelled much over its use, and finally, with true French instinct, concluded it must be something to put in soup, which they did forthwith!"

In the "History of Fairfield County," under the town of Monroe, we find that one Mr. de Forest who built and kept a public house and store on the west side of the Green, entertained the officers of a French force of some five hundred men who were quartered for a few weeks on the hill.

After Yorktown the French army passed the winter of 1781 and 1782 in the country between the James and York Rivers. Mathieu Dumas gives the clearest reasons that Rochambeau could have had for making the long return march to Boston during the cold autumn months of our New England climate:

"After the battle of the 12th of April, in which the Count de Grasse was taken prisoner, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had taken the command received orders to proceed to Boston to repair his squadron. On the notice which he had given of it to M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister, the Count de Rochambeau perceived the necessity of bringing his army nearer to the northern provinces. The excessive heat and the insalubrious climate of Virginia had caused many diseases. Besides, the preparations which the English were making to evacuate Charlestown, rendered it superfluous for the French troops to remain any longer to protect the southern states. . . . The retrograde movement of the army by land was performed slowly, the soldiers marching by night and reposing by day. The general-in-chief had gone before, leaving to the Chevalier de Chastellux and to the Count de Viomésnil the care of conducting the troops with the wise precautions which he had prescribed. . . ."

Accordingly the French Commander-in-Chief instructed de Vaudreuil to get his fleet

ready to receive his troops some time during the early part of November. At King's Ferry, the combined armies were received by the Continental troops with military honors, the allies passing between the American soldiers who were drawn up in two parallel lines. It is also said that General Washington ordered his drums to beat the French march during this spectacular review. Rochambeau states that our men were on this occasion dressed and equipped partly from the supplies brought from France. The army continued to Crompond, where it remained in camp for about three weeks, and on the 22d of October, 1782, Rochambeau resumed the march, with his first division, followed the next day by the second division. De Ségur, uncle of Lafayette and a Colonel of the Soissonnais, relates an amusing incident that happened just previous to their departure from Crompond:

"At the moment of our quitting the camp of Crompond, and as M. de R. was proceeding at the head of his columns, surrounded by his brilliant staff, an American approached him, tapped him slightly on the shoulder, and showing him a paper he held in his hand, said to him: 'In the name of the law, you are my prisoner'! Several young officers were indignant at this insult offered to their General, but he restrained their impatience by a sign, smiled, and said to the American: 'Take me away with you, if you can.' 'No,' replied the American, 'I have done my duty, and Your Excellency may proceed on your march, if you wish to set justice at defiance; in that case, I only ask to be allowed to withdraw unmolested. Some soldiers of the division of Soissonnais have cut down several trees and burnt them to light their fires; the owner of them claims an indemnity, and has obtained a warrant against you, which I come to execute.'

M. de Rochambeau, having heard this explanation, which was translated to him by one of his aides-de-camp, called M. de Villemanzy, now a peer of France, and then Intendant of the army, appointed him to be his bail, and ordered him to settle this affair, and to pay what should be considered fair, if the indemnity he had already offered was not thought sufficient. The American then withdrew, and the General and his army, which had thus been arrested, by a constable, continued their march. A judgment of arbitration was afterwards pronounced, fixing two thousand francs, that is to say, a less sum than the General had offered, as the amount of damages due to this unjust proprietor, who had claimed fifteen thousand, and who was even condemned to pay costs." (Villemanzy drew the fire of the enemy by establishing bakers' ovens at Chatham, while our army was crossing the North River.)

Apropos of this incident Blanchard writes, "I lodged at Salem in the house of the constable who arrested M. de Rochambeau. I did not know it then; he received me very well."

The march eastward lay through practically the same towns as on the march westward, the artillery leading the way and the army proceeding in two divisions a day apart; Rochambeau and his staff preceded the artillery, reaching Providence on November 8th. Most of the camps were in or near the same places. The thirty-eighth camp from Yorktown was at Hunt's tavern between Crompond and Pines Bridge, where the army encamped at or near the sixteenth camp on the westward trip.

The next camp was at Salem Centre, in the fields just back of the North Salem Academy, built in 1773, which is still standing today very much as it looked in Revolutionary days. The town records, shown to us by A. J. Lobdell, who lives next door to the building, state that the French army "encamped near here two days, and the officers occupied the building." The academy was built by Stephen Delancey for his own use, but when the war came it was used as a jail and courthouse "for the trial of Refractory Tories." It was finished as an academy after the war, in 1786, later became a state school, then served as a private school, and now is the Town Hall in which elections are held. A short distance beyond Salem is Titicus Reservoir, and owing to the extreme drought of 1923 it was possible to see the old road with the stone walls on each side running along the bed of the reservoir, the exact road over which the army marched. In ordinary times the water would cover it by many feet.

The fortieth camp was a trifle north of Danbury, the "Hat City" as it is often termed by

Kindness of George L. Rockwell

OLD SALEM ACADEMY, IN SALEM CENTRE, NEW YORK,

as it appears today, much the same as it was when the French army pitched its thirty-ninth camp in the fields back of the building. The army was on its eastward march from Yorktown in October of the year 1782.

us, which reminded Claude Blanchard of Pégou near Angers. The army probably had marched through Ridgefield past the former camp grounds and then been piloted to Danbury by David Pearce and his two sons, Aaron and David. Here was one of the most important storehouses of the Continental Army, which was burned by the enemy. The exact stopping place of our allies is in an old locality called Plum Meadow Grove which covered the present Old Catholic Cemetery, extending along South Street and Shelter Rock Road towards the upper end of Shelter Rock Mountain. Part of the camp extended along the banks of the Simpaug River. The Danbury and Norwalk Railroad now runs through the old camp location, upon which has also sprung up a baseball ground, Lee's Hat Factory, Doran Bros. machine shop and numerous dwellings. While here, it is said that Rochambeau was entertained by Col. Joseph P. Cooke, one of the leading residents.

After passing Bethel the next camp was pitched at Newtown on the farther or eastward side of the present State road to Middlebury, on the plain below Church Hill at the intersection of Queen Street and the Southbury road. In the house of Arthur T. Nettleton, situated in the town between the two camps, can be seen some French cannon balls that were dug up some years ago near one of these camp grounds.

Colonel Jean-Nichols Desandrouins, of Verdun, who later became a Maréchal, was one of the important engineers with the army and was one of the few Frenchmen present at the Hartford Conference; in his rare "Papiers" he describes the return march which he made with the Bourbonnais, recalling the great difficulty of getting the wagons over the River Croton, about four miles from Salem, many being broken in the attempt. At Danbury he lodged with an inhabitant spelled by him John Trobrige and at Newtown he visited his host of the previous year.

After an extra day's stop at Newtown the same camp sites were occupied at Breakneck in Middlebury and at Barnes' Tavern in Marion in the Naugatuck valley and the march then continued through Southington to Farmington. The camp site on Breakneck Hill, now also known as Rochambeau Heights, is one of the most difficult to locate and it could not have been accomplished without our two Connecticut pilots, Colonel Cheney and Mr. Bissell, with the added local assistance of Senator William P. Tyler, who, when the Legislature is not in session at Hartford, occupies his summer months on his farm at the foot of the hill. A steep climb is rewarded by a beautiful view of Naugatuck valley with the Meriden mountains in the distance. Over the crest of this hill plodded the weary troops on their way from Woodbury, the old disused roadway traveled by the troops being easy to detect, one end coming out near the Tyler cottage. Near the summit, not far from the summer cottage of William Henry White and within a few feet of this overgrown road was placed in 1904 a large polished granite slab on a stone pedestal to designate for all time the camp pitched on this beautiful slope. This land was once part of the Bronson farm, and at that time was

Photographed through the kindness of Henry M. Hutchings

Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney and F. C. Bissell, of Hartford

TABLET ON BREAKNECK HILL, OFTEN CALLED ROCHAMBEAU HEIGHTS, IN MIDDLEBURY, CONNECTICUT,

marking the ninth camp, June 27, 1780, of the French army on its march from Providence to Yorktown and its forty-second, October 26, 1782, on its return march. From the hill there is a beautiful view of the Naugatuck Valley. A few feet on the right of the monument is the old lane, now discontinued, and overgrown, over which the army traveled. Colonel Cheney is on the right of the tablet and Senator William P. Tyler on the left. The latter lives at the foot of the hill. This memorial was erected by the American-Irish Historical Society.

owned by James F. Gaffney. This memorial was erected by the American-Irish Historical Society, at the suggestion of Dennis H. Tierney of Waterbury, at his own expense, the land being deeded to the town of Middlebury. He was inspired to do this by the fact that there were some Irish troops with the French Army, and also by the fact that the family claim to be descended from Admiral de Ternay, who brought Rochambeau's army to Newport. The picturesque ceremony of unveiling took place on the exact anniversary of the encampment of the army here, June 27th, the ceremony being initiated by a parade from Waterbury of French and American enthusiasts. Viscount de Chambrun, a great-grandson of Lafayette, the Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, owing to a late train unfortunately lost his connection and was stalled at New London. This Historical Society intends to erect similar memorials on all the camp grounds in Connecticut. The words on this tablet are: "The Camp of the French army en route to Yorktown, June 27, 1781." It is said that Hop Brook in the valley again furnished water for drinking purposes and for the washing of linen. It is also narrated that one Bronson locked up his daughter Esther for fear she would elope with a French officer.

Of this part of the journey to Hartford, Blanchard says:

"On the 25th, our division proceeded to Newtown, a small town which I have mentioned, situated upon a hill whence the view is pretty agreeable. On the 27th, we took up our march for Breakneck; I met again, after more than a year, with all the places that I had passed through.

On the 28th, at Baron's Tavern, in a tolerably fertile valley which extends as far as Hartford. It is one of the best parts of America; so we found more readily what we needed, for instance, straw.

On the 29th, my division stopped at Farmington, and I proceeded to Hartford. There I saw M. de Tarlé, who confirmed to me the report of our approaching embarkation upon M. de Vaudreuil's squadron. . . . "

De Closen, writing of this part of the march enters in his interesting records:

"One has the finest view possible of the valley of Southington which extends for a distance of 20 miles. The valley is fertile and thickly populated. A mile from here at the base of the mountain, the descent of which is made easily, we reached the camp which was pitched near Baron's Tavern, the same that the troops occupied last year. The march was exhausting. The village of Southington is very pretty and extends in a circle of twelve miles; the church is one of the largest and best constructed and most prominent in the country. Colonel Lamb and his family who live two miles from here are very charming; he has several exceedingly pretty daughters. On the 28th, after a journey of ten miles over fine roads through beautiful country, fertile and hilly, we reached Farmington where the soldiers pitched their camp near the former site. After we had breakfasted, M. de Rochambeau and his staff pushed on as far as Hartford where M. de Tarlé gave us absolute power of supervision. We engaged the same lodgings which we had the previous year and our hosts welcomed us with much

Photographed through the kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney

FRENCH CAMP GROUND ON HOCKANUM RIVER, EAST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,
where the army camped on its way to Yorktown and also on its return march.

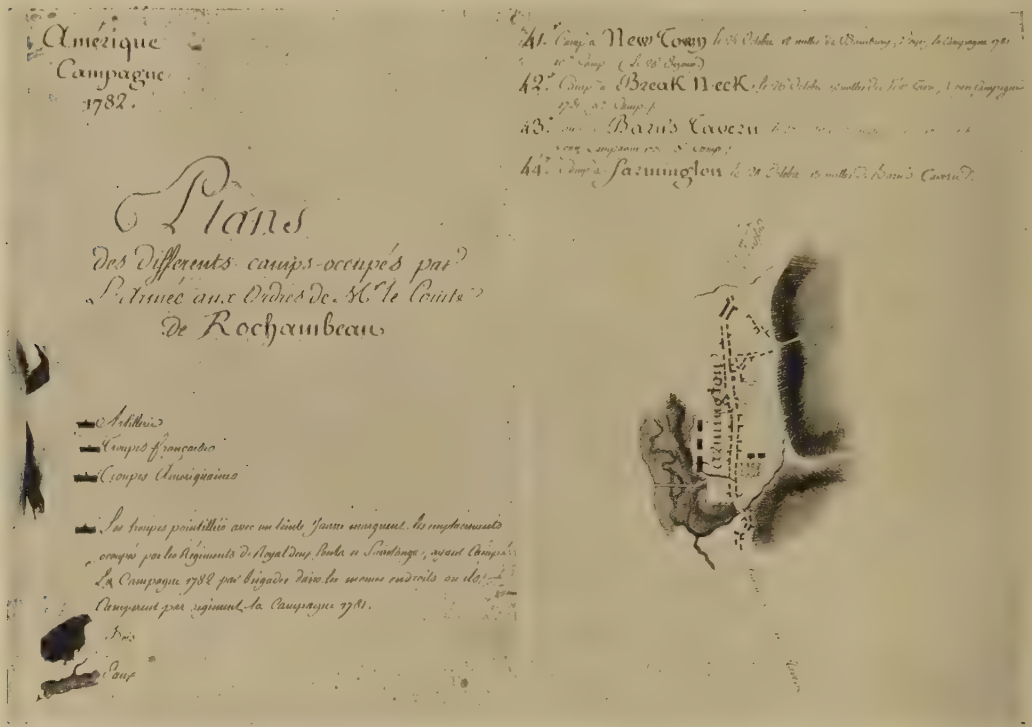
hospitality. For that matter we were always met with civility wherever we went when we were here last year. The following day, the 29th, the 1st brigade arrived and after having crossed the Connecticut River by ferry, the troops pitched their camps a mile and a half further on at East Hartford."

Desandrouins spoke of these parts of Connecticut, mentioning that at Breakneck he saw a river, called State-Ford, a bridge on piers made of framed boxes filled with pebbles, and a fine church in a village, situated in the midst of a fertile valley. He also referred to the mountain as being high and difficult of ascent and spoke of the "miserable little village at its summit," where he found great difficulty in procuring a place in which to lodge. In the descent a dozen carriages were broken. Desandrouins mentioned particularly the civility and the kindness of the people throughout all Connecticut. "On the 29 we reached Hartford and East Hartford," he adds. "We were to make a prolonged stop at these two towns, and the entire army met here on the 30th. . . . This evening the Comte de Rochambeau and a large number of us officers attended a concert at which the Psalms were chanted by the men, women, young girls and young men. It was most impressive and powerful."

The Farmington camp ground lay chiefly northwest of the pretty main road on the plains near the Farmington River and about a mile before reaching the village, which is one of the most charming in all Connecticut. The Rochambeau map shows this town to have been well populated in Revolutionary times.

The forty-fifth camp was at East Hartford where the army arrived on October 29th, occupying a camp site on Silver Lane, a trifle farther southeastward than on the previous visit. The second division arrived a few days later. Rochambeau writes in his memoirs:

"The French corps on its march traversed the whole of Connecticut. Governor Trumbull and his council issued a proclamation urging that his fellow citizens not increase by a single sou the price



Photographed by Levin C. Handy from a manuscript volume in the Rochambeau collection, entitled "Amérique Campagne 1782—Plans des différents camps occupés par L'Armée aux Ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau"

TITLE-PAGE OF A MANUSCRIPT VOLUME CONTAINING PLANS OF THE FIFTY-FOUR CAMPS OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON IN 1782

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FORTY-FOURTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT FARMINGTON, CONNECTICUT, OCTOBER 28TH, 1782

The exact location was for the most part northeast of the main road on the plains near the Farmington River, and about a mile before reaching the village.

of army provisions during the passage of the French Army. All the inhabitants conformed themselves so generously to this appeal, that every mess was able to add, at a very low price, every evening every kind of provisions to his customary allowance."

Of the four days' rest here the French commissary, quoted before, mentions in his diary:

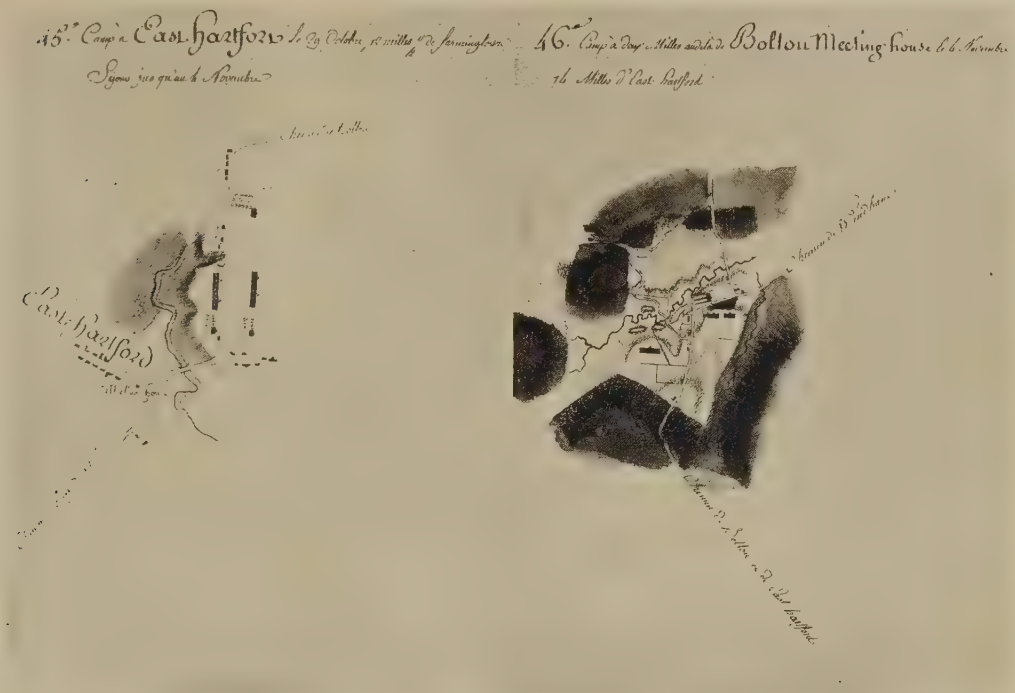
"On the 30th and 31st, the weather was frightful and the rain continual. The army remained at Hartford. I lodged at East Hartford, which is, in some sort, a second city upon the left bank of the Connecticut river. This country is very populous and entirely cleared; the soil is also good, and yet I suspect that the cultivation of it could be increased."

Rochambeau, writing to Washington from Hartford, on October 30th, says:

"I have resolved to stay here four days longer . . . then to go as far as Providence by very short journeys, where I shall stay until the fleet be ready."

De Closen continues in his diary:

"On the 30th the Artillery received permission in the future to march a day's distance in advance of the 1st brigade for the sake of convenience and made an early start. M. de Rochambeau who had formed the project to forward the troops and to go to Boston, in following the higher road ordered


45e Camp à East-hartford le 29 Octobre, 18 milles de Farmington
Sejour jusqu'au 4 Novembre
46e Camp à deux Milles au delà de Bolton Meeting-house le 4 Novembre
14 Milles d'East-hartford

Photographed by Levin C. Handy from a manuscript volume in the Rochambeau collection, entitled "Amérique Campagne 1782—Plans des différents camps occupés par L'Armée aux Ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau"

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FORTY-FIFTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT EAST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, FROM OCTOBER 29, 1782 TO NOVEMBER 4, 1782

The exact location is on the east side of the Connecticut River along the plains on both sides of Silver Lane, overlooking the Hockanum River. The sixth camp on the westward march was also here, but the diagrams of these camps in the march to Yorktown are not among the Rochambeau Papers.

FORTY-SIXTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT BOLTON, CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER 4, 1782

The location is in the northwest corner of the present Andover County (then Coventry) and just before reaching the Skunkamaug River. The fifth camp on the westward march was just east of the church at Bolton. (Rochambeau map says two miles beyond the Bolton meeting-house.)

me to accompany him, as I had already made the journey before. The army had orders to follow, brigade by brigade, always a day's distance apart, and to follow last year's route via Bolton and Providence. We set out at the break of day, but when we had overtaken the artillery which was seven miles from Hartford, we were met by a courier sent by M. de Vaudreuil with the information that the squadron would not be ready on November 15th as we had been notified beforehand and that consequently there was no need of the General's hastening the marching of the army, and that the vessels at Portsmouth were the chief cause of the delay. This was the second time that the General had to countermand the Army's advance. . . .

We returned, therefore, to Hartford and I was commissioned to carry the order to the Artillery to return to camp on the same ground as before. This sudden and unexpected arrival of the troops caused a great deal of conjecture and discussions among the politicians, of which there are many in the army. But all was made clear the same evening, M. de Rochambeau no longer concealing the destination of the Army announcing publicly the sailing of the entire army and announcing at the same time his departure for France.

Almost everyone was heavy of heart, some that they must go to the Islands, others that they must leave their friends in America, all equally sad. I, more than all the rest at having to lose

Kindness of Mrs. Charles H. Smith and Miss Emma Sophia Forbes

FORBES RESIDENCE ON FORBES STREET, EAST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,

where the silver to pay the French troops was stored for a day and night previous to being taken in ox-wagons to Silver Street, nearby, where the army was encamped. This is the reason for the naming of this street. It is supposed that the room in which the silver was kept was in the front corner. This old house is owned by James S. Forbes, a brother of Miss Emma Sophia Forbes. There are other families of this name on Forbes Street, which is in a locality now called Burnside, but at one time known as Scotland on account of the number of Scots living in the neighborhood.

M. de Rochambeau, who is universally beloved, respected and esteemed. To be in closer contact with his soldiers M. de Rochambeau made his headquarters at East Hartford where his quarters were not less comfortable. During our stay at East Hartford we made several excursions on both banks of the river where are situated Glasenbury and Weathersfield, etc., which are villages of considerable size and where the houses are sprinkled about. Glasenbury is on the left bank of the Connecticut River and Weathersfield is on the right bank of the river; the latter is the most flourishing. The church is quite beautiful and quite large; all the environs are thickly populated and the country which borders on the river is flat. The soil is good and the land well cultivated and decorated with dwellings. . . .

The people of Hartford showered us with attention and without question Connecticut has been the Province which has welcomed the French most."

A visit to the camp grounds in East Hartford is an interesting one. They lie east of the Connecticut River and one approaches them by way of the broad road leading to Manchester, along which highway the old elms were said to have been planted at the suggestion of Rochambeau. The statement that they were set out by him cannot be substantiated, although some trees in South Windsor were planted by some of our prisoners of war. A turn to the right

leads the visitor across the small Hockanum River, which the army forded, to Forbes Street, upon which live so many Forbes families that this district is usually referred to as Scotland. It is now officially called Burnside as there was found to be another Scotland in the State. A neat little white house on this street, where lives Miss Emma Sophia Forbes, is pointed out by students of Hartford history, as the place where the silver to pay the French troops was stored for a day and a night previous to being drawn the following morning in the ox wagons to Silver Street (formerly called Lane) nearby, so called owing to the fact that there the troops were actually paid. It is related that many of the French coins were found for years afterwards by small boys while playing there. The family states that Timothy Forbes, great-grandfather of Miss Emma Forbes, drove one of these teams containing silver as far as White Plains. Silver Street runs behind Forbes Street, extending in an easterly direction south of the Hockanum River. The two camps were probably situated on both sides of Silver Lane along the plains overlooking the Hockanum.

The Forbes family of East Hartford is much interested in the traditions connecting their places with the French army; the family is one of the best known in the town, having lived there for many generations. One of the historians of the place mentions "Uncle Hick" Forbes who served as assistant grave digger of the Center Burying Ground. This old character is said to have dug graves so many years that in the latter part of his life, when he grew feeble, he was obliged to lower a ladder into the excavation in order to enable him to climb out. Possibly from him may have originated the expression "of digging one's own grave," for he came as near doing this as anyone. Just across the Hockanum, opposite the camp ground, where there are now some electric car barns, used to stand an old building which at that time was used as a hospital for the French sick. Near here also, across Main Street, which runs north from Glastonbury, through East Hartford towards Springfield, and south to New London, is a large stone marker inscribed:

OLD MEETING HOUSE GREEN
1699–1836
HERE THE PEOPLE MET FOR WORSHIP AND TO TRANSACT ALL PUBLIC BUSINESS.
THE SECOND HOUSE WAS USED AS A HOSPITAL BY THE FRENCH ARMY 1781–2.

ERECTED BY MARTHA PITKIN WOLCOTT CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1902.

We are told that the Historical Society is to place a tablet on the site of the Silver Lane camp.

The only history we have found that makes any mention of these French camps, the references applying probably to the camp on the westward march, is a book on East Hartford by Joseph O. Goodwin, and from it we quote parts of several paragraphs:

"Tradition has it that the French troops were twice encamped within our borders, — once on our meadows, when Count de Rochambeau met Washington in Hartford to confer with him (not an encampment); and again, at a later time, when they encamped north of the house of the late Nathaniel Warren, on Silver Lane. The Count boarded at Esquire Elisha Pitkin's, near the old meeting-house. Others of the French officers were quartered at the public houses, and in the principal houses on Main street, certainly at

Kindness of Colonel Louis R. Cheney

TABLET IN EAST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,

on the site of the French hospital used during the war.

Joseph Goodwin's (senior), where the grease-spots on the chamber floor from their culinary operations were never effaced, and at the Warren house, just south of the Hockanum bridge.

Wonderful tales of their barbecues in the meadows are still told—of the huge carcasses of oxen roasted whole over pits dug in the ground—the poor beasts having been beaten almost to a jelly while yet alive, to fit them for the fastidious palates of the foreigners. An iron cattle ring, cut from near the heart of a tree in the meadow by Mr. Austin Case, is a relic of their occupancy. They also had their cattle roasts, and made barrels of soup in 'Squire Pitkin's dooryard.' The old meeting-house was used for a hospital during their stay (site now properly marked).

Their sojourn here was marked by much cordial sociability. Our grandmothers and great grandmothers came from long distances to dance with the gay and polite French officers in Mr. Ashbel Roberts' orchard, back of what is now Mr. Jason Roberts' house on Silver Lane. The French named the apples from a tree which was until lately standing in this orchard, 'Belle Bonne,'—signifying good and handsome, a name which this variety of apple has borne ever since, although it is sometimes corrupted into 'Belle Bound,' and shortened into 'Bounders.'

The French officers also visited the distinguished English prisoners quartered in South Windsor, where Governor Franklin lived in princely style. He was quartered at Lieut. Diggins' house, about a mile south of the meeting-house, and served sour punches under an elm tree east of the house, near Podunk Brook. This drink, in which the opposed ingredients of sweet and sour were so happily mingled, was called by the French 'one grand contradiction.'

The influence of the good manners and cultured tastes of the French officers remained after they had departed. . . .

. . . The people gladly served the generous soldiers, the boys running errands for them, and the housewives doing their sewing and mending, and serving them at their houses with unwonted gingerbread and pies, for which they were well paid. The soldiers cut fagots for their campfires in the woods, south of Silver Lane, and brought them in bundles on their backs. One soldier died here and was buried near the hillside, north of Silver Lane. The bank afterwards caved away, but we cannot learn that anything was found.

Boats were impressed at different times during the Revolution for the transportation of troops across the Connecticut river at Hartford. A copy of an order for such a purpose is still preserved by the state librarian."

Reviews have been held on this French camp ground, for mention is made that:

"A review took place later north of the North Meadow Road, on the same ground on which Rochambeau's army was encamped when here during the Revolution."

The army rested in East Hartford for about a week, when it broke camp on November 4th, on its way to Providence, marching in two divisions. Count Ségur in his "Recollections" writes in regard to this Camp:

"We remained there four days, and there M. de Rochambeau communicated to us officially, that, unless an unexpected movement of the English should counteract his design, he intended to return immediately to France with a part of his staff, and that we should be, henceforth, under the orders of the Baron de Viomenil.

We also heard, at the same time, that the squadron of M. Vaudreuil was not yet ready to receive us, and that this officer only wished us to arrive at Boston when he should have completed his preparations. We thus found ourselves compelled to remain a long while encamped, and afterwards to perform laborious marches during a season the inclemency of which already had begun prematurely and rather sharply to manifest itself, as the snow was falling in abundance like in winter.

On the 4th of November the army set out for Providence, and, as we were at some distance from the camp and our presence was not indispensable, the Prince de Broglie and myself asked M. de Rochambeau's permission to make an excursion to New-London. . . ."

Rev. Dr. Stiles happened to meet the troops on the road and describes the scene in this way:

"4. Left Windham. Lodged at Bolton, where we saw the first Division of the French Army march for Providence. There were counted 170 Waggons of Artillery, filling the Rode fr. the Meeting house to &c. which is one Mile, besides those we passed yesterday: there were as supposed above 100, so that the Baggage Wagons & Artillery judged 300. Gen. Rochambeau visited us in Eveng at Rev. Mr. Coltons.

Photographed by Levin C. Handy from a manuscript volume in the Rochambeau collection, entitled "Amérique Campagne 1782—Plans des différents camps occupés par L'Armée aux Ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau"

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FORTY-SEVENTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT WINDHAM, CONNECTICUT

where the army rested for two days, November 5th and 6th. The site of this encampment was on the top of the hill, a short distance east of the village green and just north of the Canterbury road. Lebanon, where the Connecticut Councils of War were held, and where de Lauzun and his Hussars camped during the winter of 1780–1781, is only six miles distant from Windham. The fourth camp of the army on its march to Yorktown was about a mile west of the village on the Windham Plains, south of and near the Bolton road.

FORTY-EIGHTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT CANTERBURY, CONNECTICUT (or Cantorbery, as the French spelled it),

where the night of November 7, 1782, was spent. The old road over which the army traveled is well-nigh impassable today, and shows better than any other part of the route the great difficulties that were encountered by our allies on their long marches in America. This camp was pitched a mile or more before reaching the village, in the fields just beyond a small brook which is easily located. The army passed through the town on its westward march, and did not camp here, but at Plainfield not many miles away.

5. Met & passed the 2d Div. of French Army, probably 1500 men. The whole sd to be 4000, I judge 3000. We stopt our chaise near half an hour in passing the Troops, & afterwards above half an hour in passing 2 Divisions of Wagons, I judge 200. Some of them sd. they had 500 Waggons for whole Army. Came to Hartfd & lodged at Revd. Mr. Marshs at Weathersfd."

On the fifth of the month the first division, continuing its way through South Manchester, reached Bolton, pitching its tents about two miles east of the former camp, in the northwest corner of the present Andover County (then Coventry) and just before reaching the Skunkamaug River.

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of Howard W. Preston, the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society

FIELD IN FRONT OF WATERMAN'S TAVERN, COVENTRY, RHODE ISLAND,

where the French army camped on June 18, 1781, on its westward march, and on November 9, 1782 on its return march. The well dug by the French, from which the troops got their drinking-water, is shown in the foreground, and the tavern itself is in the background.

Desandrouins continues the account of the march: "From Bolton to Windham the roads were mountainous and uneven. One of our wagons was stalled until midnight." "The Colonel," wrote the compiler of these memoirs, "certainly had ill luck with his carriages!" At Canterbury Desandrouins had his valise opened and his money taken, but the culprit, who probably was one of the American drivers, was not apprehended.

The forty-seventh camp from Yorktown was at pretty Windham, where they rested for two nights, the line of march having been through Andover and south of Willimantic. This Windham camp was beyond the village, a few miles east of their former camp, on a hill beyond the village green, near and north of the road leading to Canterbury. One of the nearby inhabitants, who seemed to be the only Windhamite who had ever heard that a French army had encamped within the village limits, narrates that the so-called old Frog Pond, mentioned in the account of the western march, supplied the soldiers with water but that it dried up many years ago, making it necessary for the frogs to make their famous march, already referred to. It is said that all the officers and some of the men stayed in the various houses of the Windham

people. A story is told that there were so many housed in the home of Ebenezer Brigham that, in passing through the room with her infant child, Mistress Brigham had to step carefully over the sleeping soldiers in order to reach her room. While in camp here the army rested an extra day. Another witness states that day by day the troops were followed by long lines of baggage wagons and stout carts bearing kegs of silver money guarded by French soldiers. A visitor to these parts would do well to leave the Bolton road and strike across country through Columbia and Chestnut Hill over some bad roads in order to visit Lebanon, the winter camping ground of Lauzun's cavalry, described in a later book. From there he can cut across to Windham, spending a night at the inn, where he will not be disturbed by late motorists as the horse and pedestrian in this delightful town are not things of the past. Likewise the ancient village green and the old corner grocery store are reminders of quieter days before the advent of the motor.

From Windham to Canterbury by automobile was far more dangerous than a day's march with Rochambeau's troops one hundred and forty-three years before, and almost as tiresome, because the lane, for that is all it can be called, led through Scotland and Westminster, and over Mullen's Hill where the road consisted chiefly of huge rocks and the steepest of inclines. This old stage road must have been a typical one such as the French encountered on their marches; but within a few years it will be improved, so one hears. The men, of whom we inquired the way, said "You will find the road fine" and then burst out laughing, so we knew what to expect. If one emerges safely one finds oneself on the State road approaching the little village of Canterbury with its attractive old church dating almost back to these days of which we write. Within a mile and a half or so before reaching the town one crosses a brook and, with the aid of the French General's contemporary map, this camp site can easily be located on the level fields to the right of the State road. Here at Cantorbery, as the foreigners spelled it, was the encampment of the army, which had passed by this town without camping on the march westward.

Voluntown, now Sterling, next saw the army, where it stopped over the night of November 8th. The motorist, following the old line of march, proceeds to Sterling, past the Quinebaug River, then through Plainfield past No. 3 Camp on the road to Yorktown, continuing over the Norwich turn-pike, and over several high and steep hills with beautiful outlooks. If one is fortunate enough not to land in Moosup (for all the bypaths seem to land there) or at some stray farmhouse on the top of one of these hills, one glides down into Sterling where, by seeking the aid of Benjamin G. Douglas, now over eighty years of age, one may be piloted to the forty-ninth camp of the army. It is situated east of Sterling Hill and the village, and one field north of the road to Providence, formerly a toll-gate road used by the stage coaches. Its exact location can best be described as being almost directly opposite and north from the schoolhouse. The property now used as a cow pasture was once owned by the Dorrance family but is now in the hands of Byron Young. This camp was not used on the march westward. Mr. Douglas' father used to relate that one day near the schoolhouse he suddenly came upon two French outriders with whom he tried to converse and that soon Lafayette on his 1824 tour of this country appeared upon the scene. The older Douglas remembered seeing the places where the army camp fires had been made and also the spring just back of the encampment. There is also a tradition that some villager saw some of the French soldiers kill a cow and then beat the animal all over in order to make the meat more tender.

Before reaching Providence, one more stop was made at the old site near Waterman's Tavern in Coventry, Rhode Island, which was a goodly-sized town in those days. The Tavern

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of Howard W. Preston, the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society

WATERMAN'S TAVERN, COVENTRY, RHODE ISLAND

The fiftieth camp of the French army on its march from Yorktown and the second camp on the westward journey were made in the field in front of this old inn, which is little changed from the days when it was used as headquarters of the officers during the two short stays of the army on June 18, 1781, and on November 9, 1782. It is now the residence of the Havens family, is one of the few buildings on a camp site that is today standing and is well worthy of a visit. It is rather difficult to find, as it is on the left of the lower of the two State roads to Providence. It is in the very northerly part of Kent County and northwesterly from Flat River Reservoir

can be reached from Sterling by following the State road down Sterling Hill, across Moosup River, through Oneco and across the State line into Rhode Island. Two State roads near here lead into Providence and by following the right-hand one and then taking the old Pike road, as it was called, which leads to the left over Bowen's hill and through the small town of Potterville, one lands at Waterman's Tavern, in Coventry, the last stop of the French before making camp at West Providence. It may be best described as in the very northerly part of Kent County and northwesterly of Flat River Reservoir. This attractive and well-kept old Tavern, which is the only building we know of on one of the New England camp sites that was standing in Revolutionary days, is very much the same as it was then. The property is now the farm of Mr. and Mrs. Elmer A. Havens, who take a great interest in the history associated with the place. The French made their fiftieth camp in the fields opposite, where we saw horses and cows grazing, and in the center is a well that was dug by the soldiers when the springs at the back of the house had gone dry. This well, even during the drought of 1923 when we visited Coventry, was giving plenty of water. Nearby is the old barn, since added to, where the horses of the old stagecoaches were stabled, for the Tavern in those days was situated on one of the stage lines between Providence and Connecticut. Rochambeau had his headquarters here and there is also a tradition that Lafayette stopped here on one of

his journeys. In any case, a cut in one of the mantelpieces is pointed out to the visitor. It seems that the tavernkeeper asked one of these two French generals to leave some souvenir, whereupon he drew his sword and made the gouge that can be seen today. Illustrations show this old Inn and its fireplace, as well as the spring. There is also another tradition that some of the Frenchmen died while in camp and that they were buried in the old cemetery back of the house which dates beyond Revolutionary times, but, unfortunately, search fails to find them. The old Tavern, with its old doors and fireplaces, is certainly a Revolutionary relic, though but yet little known. When General Foch visited Providence it was planned to take him out to see Waterman's Tavern, but time would not permit. Had he gone he would have seen several younger members of Mrs. Havens's family who served in the World War. Doubtless this fact serves to increase the Havens's interest in the days when France came to our assistance. From the Tavern the visitor reaches the State road to Providence by following the old country lane, keeping to the right. The army proceeded along the straight road that led north of Flat River Reservoir, coming out on the main road before getting to the village of Anthony, and from there marched through the present towns of Centerville, Arctic and Natick, along the old road (now a State road, leading past the Public Institutions) to the camp in West Providence. In that part of Coventry, near Anthony, is the home of General Nathanael Greene, of Revolutionary fame, and second only to Washington, and in his old house, still preserved by some society, Commissary Claude Blanchard and M. Haake, Captain of the Royal Deux-Ponts and Chaplain of the Hospital, were entertained by Mrs. Greene, an event to be more fully described in another book.

Before leaving this part of Rhode Island it might be well to mention that there is a Lafayette Spring in the town of Foster, and in the County of East Greenwich is a place called Frenchtown, part of the town of East Greenwich.

While at Waterman's Tavern Count Rochambeau interviewed a committee in regard to officers' quarters in Providence and while there he received a letter from Governor Greene of Rhode Island:

"To his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the army of his Most Christian Majesty in the United States:

The Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in General Assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to Your Excellency, and the officers and troops composing the army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this State.

Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the army of the United States, in the fatigues, the toils and the glory, that have attended the allied armies, but the magnanimity of the father of His people, and the Protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be inexpressible but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of His Most Christian Majesty.

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of humanity, and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens; and may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most generous people.

Done in General Assembly, at East Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A.D. 1782, and in the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Council and Representatives, etc. . . ."

The Count replied:

"To the Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations:

PROVIDENCE, November 28, 1782.

GENTLEMEN:—It is with an inexpressible pleasure, that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of Howard W. Preston, the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society

MANTELPIECE AND FIREPLACE IN WATERMAN'S TAVERN, COVENTRY, RHODE ISLAND

Across this mantel is a mark said to have been made by the sword of Lafayette (but most probably by Rochambeau, as the former was not with the French army on its marches) who was asked by the innkeeper to leave there some souvenir of his visit.

services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States jointly with the American army, under the orders of General Washington.

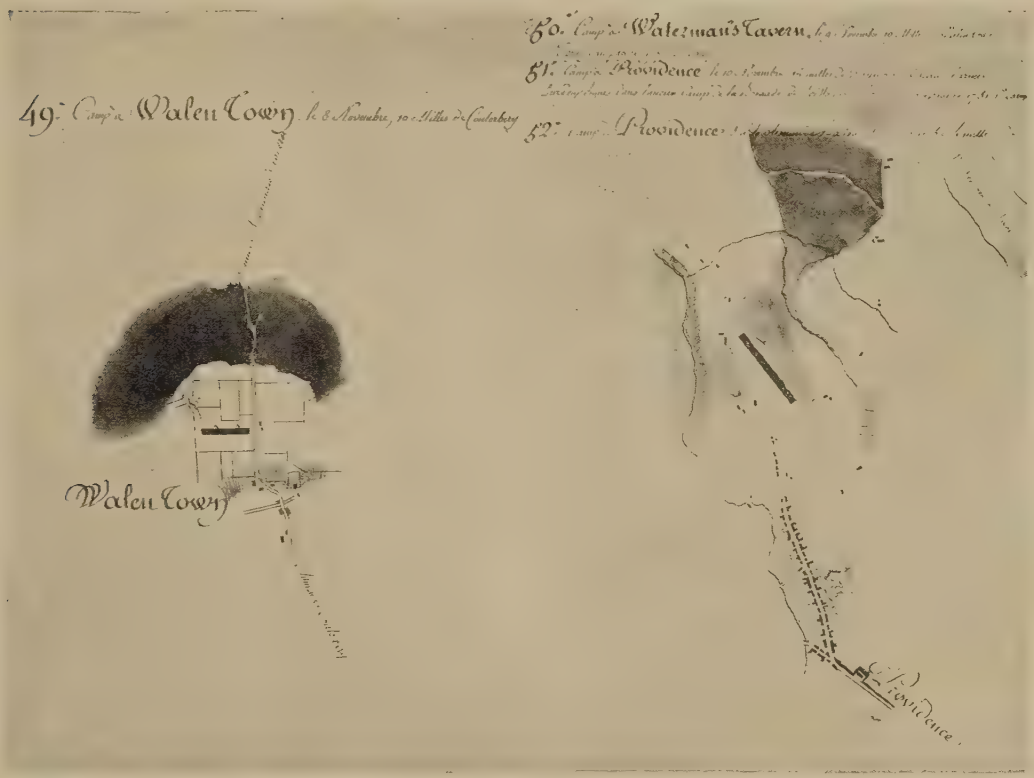
This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behavior of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always a right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our sovereign, as to the disposition and the march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interests from those of his faithful allies."

It was on the 10th of the month that the first division marched to Mathewson's Plain in Providence on the west side of the river, where on November 11, 1781, encamped the Soissonnais on their first halt after leaving the city for Yorktown. The second division arrived on the following day and probably both camped across the road from the artillery, near a wood. This location is on the plain adjoining the West Burial Ground (Benevolent Congregational Society Burial Ground) which was abandoned many years ago and is now covered with buildings. The camp was near the present Hayward Park and covered some of the property near by. The Park is the only open space in the locality now remaining.

De Closen refers to the march from Hartford to the capital of Rhode Island in these words:

"The artillery left the 3rd for the camp at Bolton, and on the 4th they were followed by the 1st brigade which pitched their camp two miles further on. This march was an easy one made over very fine roads, but before reaching our destination we had to pass over a stony mountain. On the 5th the first Brigade arrived at Windham after passing along roads somewhat less pretty than the evening before. The camp was laid out on the ridge beyond the town. The 6th the second brigade joined us at Windham in awful weather, the rain not ceasing till midnight. Windham is a pretty little place consisting of 80 small dwellings, many of which are well built. There is a large number of smart people here. The fair sex is not distinguished for its good manners, but several have very lovely complexions and take the trouble to make themselves agreeable. At dawn the artillery was in line for Canterbury. The first brigade which is in command of M. le baron de Vioménil followed the next day. M. de Rochambeau only breakfasted at Canterbury and after having viewed the situation of the camp we pushed on further to dine at Wollentown (now Sterling), where we found the artillery already in camp. We marched no further this day. Wollentown is a small village like Canterbury; Scotland is a considerable village. We passed the church which is very fine and which has a very high tower. We passed through Plainfield where the troops were in camp last year. At three miles from Wollentown the boundary of the State of Rhode Island commences. This part of the state is very ugly, stony and little cultivated. Four miles further to the north one comes upon the road to Boston, which crosses Killingsby and Medway. The 8th we arrived at Waterman's Tavern in time for breakfast where the artillery arrived to go into camp; the same camp of the year before was marked out for the troops. We continued our route and arrived at mid-day at Providence where we took the same lodgings of the previous year and the Commissary gave us a real commissary's meal. The following day, the 9th, the artillery arrived, camping on the same ground it had previously occupied, on the



Photographed by Levin C. Handy from a manuscript volume in the Rochambeau collection, entitled "Amérique Campagne 1782—Plans des différents camps occupés par L'Armée aux Ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau"

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FORTY-NINTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT VOLUNTOWN, SPELLED BY THE FRENCH WALEN TOWN, AND NOW CALLED STERLING, IN CONNECTICUT

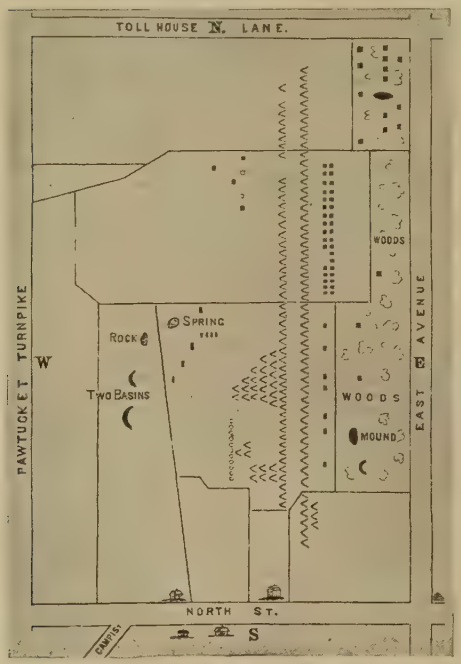
Here the troops spent the night of November 8, 1782. The encampment was east of Sterling Hill and the village, in the second pasture from the Providence road, almost opposite the old schoolhouse. The army passed over this route on its march to Yorktown, but made no camp here.

FIFTY-SECOND CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT NORTH PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

where the first division arrived on November 13, 1782. This camp undoubtedly had previously been used by the French on the march westward. The fifty-first camp was on Mathewson's Plain west of Providence, near the present Hayward Park. Here some of the army encamped on the westward march the year before. The troops were moved from Hayward Park to North Providence on account of inability to secure firewood nearby. The site of this camp, shown in another illustration, lies on the crest of the hill east of Pawtucket Avenue, and is bounded by Chase's Lane, East Avenue and North Street, now called Rochambeau Avenue. Here the army remained until December 1st waiting for their ships to be repaired in Boston. There is a Lafayette Street in Providence, not far away, and also a Camp Street running into Rochambeau Avenue, so called to commemorate the French encampment here.

left side of the road before entering the town. We inspected the ground before the arrival of the troops. M. de Rochambeau decided to have the 1st brigade camp on the ground at the right of the road, which lay in front of the town and opposite the woods which are only thirty steps away. The brigades arrived the 10th and the 11th. M. de Rochambeau counted upon cutting the wood which was near the camp for fuel and for building the barracks for the soldiers, paying on the required estimate of the proprietors. . . ."

De Closen then carefully explains the real reason for moving the army, but not the artillery to North Providence.



Photographed by George B. Brayton from "Our French Allies" by Edwin Martin Stone

DIAGRAM OF THE FRENCH CAMP IN NORTH PROVIDENCE, USED AT DIFFERENT TIMES DURING THE YEARS 1780 TO 1782

North Street is now named Rochambeau Avenue and the school of this name is nearby. Most of this space is now occupied by buildings.

"It was decided" [he continues], "to change the camp and on the 12th they found another position which they thought suitable, a mile beyond the town on the road to Boston, where there is an abundance of wood which the owners consented to part with (we paying naturally) and provided the soldiers cut it down regularly. As a result the army left its present camp the 13th to take possession of the one near the town. . . ."

Accordingly, on the thirteenth of the month, the first division marched through the city and encamped on the old ground occupied by some of the French in former years.

"It was a grand spectacle," E. M. Stone writes in 'Our French Allies,' "and the veterans bearing the honors of Yorktown were enthusiastically greeted by the crowds that lined the streets. The arrangements, seemingly for winter, were intended to mislead the enemy as to the actual design of the French Commander. The officers generally were again welcomed to the homes of citizens, with whose hospitality they had become so pleasantly familiar in the winter of 1780–81.

In anticipation of the return of the allied forces to Providence, a correspondent of the *Gazette* recommended that measures be taken to receive them in a manner worthy of the important services they had rendered to the country. 'Let us consider,' he said, 'the great toils and hardships they have cheerfully undergone in America,—the many cold and stormy days and nights they have been exposed abroad, equally with our own worthy and patriotic army. Let us learn to know how to lose a little at a proper time. Let our ladies be persuaded cheerfully to suffer a part of their houses and furniture to be used a few days by those who have rendered their country such essential services. . . . They will thus raise their characters for patriotism and hospitality, to be carried on the wings of applause across the Atlantic, to that famed country where women are held in the highest estimation for their kindness, benevolence and hospitality.' "

The site of this camp was on a plateau lying east of Pawtucket Avenue, the northern boundary being Chase's Lane, the east boundary called East Avenue and the southern limit was at North Street, now named Rochambeau Avenue. Camp Street, which now runs into the latter street, was so called in honor of the French who made this plain their home for so long a time.

Stone, who himself studied the ground, gives a minute description of the arrangement of the former camps here and was actually able to trace in the year 1865 three hundred and thirteen huts, tents and fire spits; he further explains that the land was originally part of a large estate owned by an early settler, the Reverend Gregory Dexter. Mr. Stone urged some kind of a lasting memorial and again in 1880 the Rhode Island Historical Society agitated the question and a committee was appointed. The only tablet was placed by the State of Rhode Island on a shaft given by the Sons of the American Revolution on the corner of Summit Avenue and Brewster Street, a short distance northeast of the north end of Camp Street, the inscription reading:

ON THIS GROUND BETWEEN HOPE STREET AND NORTH MAIN STREET AND NORTH OF ROCHAMBEAU AVENUE THE FRENCH TROOPS COMMANDED BY COUNT ROCHAMBEAU WERE ENCAMPED IN 1782 ON THEIR RETURN MARCH FROM YORKTOWN

Farther along the Avenue named for the French Commander-in-chief, on the corner of Hope Street, is the Rochambeau School, the tablet stating that it became

> "so named in honor of
> Count Rochambeau
> who, in 1782, on the return march from Yorktown, with the French soldiers who aided so largely in bringing about the surrender of Cornwallis and the subsequent establishment of the independence of the United States, camped with his army on the fields in this neighborhood."

Kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

THE FRENCH CAMP GROUND AT NORTH PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,

taken from the southwest corner, just west of Camp Street, and looking from Rochambeau Avenue toward the monument that has been placed on the corner of Summit Avenue and Brewster Street to commemorate this event. Most of the space formerly occupied by the camp is now the site of buildings.

Most of the camp ground is now covered with buildings, there being still a few open fields left. While at this North Providence encampment the French soldiers often frequented the old Pidge, or Sayles, Tavern, one of the oldest of the inns, according to the best authorities. It also was used by Rochambeau as his headquarters, and by Lafayette on some of his journeys, which caused it to be known at one time as the Lafayette House. The property was recently purchased by Granville S. Standish of Providence as a business proposition, and, upon later learning of the historic value of the ancient house, he became so interested that he has restored it as nearly as possible to its former condition. Some years ago there was a museum in the Lafayette room and the new owner may again collect here some objects of this kind. In front of the house can be seen a flat boulder which is said to have been used by Lafayette as a mounting block during his stay there. The property is situated on the corner of North Main Street, which is the old road running between Providence and Boston, and Lafayette Street which runs south parallel to Rochambeau Avenue, and towards the high ground, called Rochambeau Heights. Lafayette Street is now the boundary between Providence and Pawtucket and, therefore, the Tavern is now located in the latter city. Past this inn the French army probably marched on its way to Boston and we can almost imagine the interested onlookers waving them a farewell from its quaint old doors and windows.

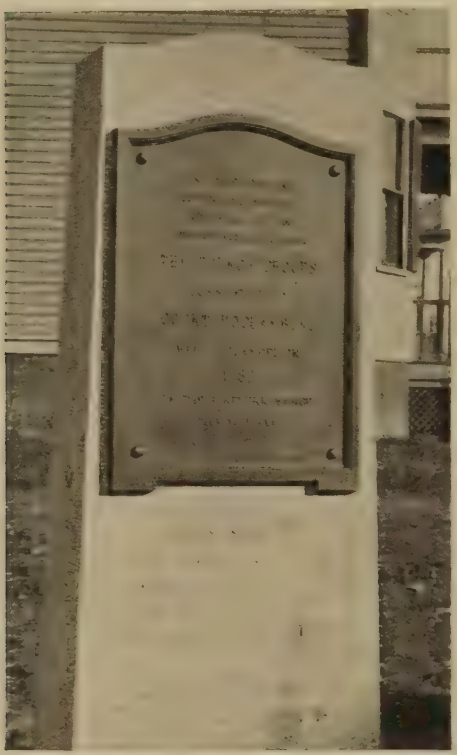
While in Providence, Rochambeau gave a splendid ball on November 18 to the people of the town at Hackers Hall, then on South Main Street. One of his well-known officers, de Broglie, writes of these entertainments:

"M. de Rochambeau, much vexed with the perpetual delays of the fleet, nevertheless behaved at Providence like a thoroughly good French General; that is to say, in order to divert his army, and gratify the ladies of the city, he gave some balls in a handsome and large public apartment intended for such purposes. It was at the first of these balls that I saw for the first time the Misses Bowen, sisters of the Governor of the city. I do not give their portraits here because I do not want to turn all the men crazy, and render all the women jealous. . . ."

A few days before de Broglie, Ségur, de Vauban and other officers gave a farewell ball at Newport.

Ségur describes his stay here in these terms:

"Our army was encamped on the road to Boston, three miles from Providence. The autumn was like the winter, the cold was sharp and the snow fell in abundance. As we were not yet certain



Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of the late Colonel George L. Shepley and W. B. Vernon

TABLET MARKING THE SITE OF THE FRENCH CAMP AT NORTH PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

It is placed at the corner of Summit Avenue and Brewster Street, a short distance northeast of the north end of Camp Street, so named to commemorate this French encampment.

as to the time of our departure which might still be very much protracted, M. de Rochambeau caused barracks to be built for the soldiers, and allowed colonels to lodge in private houses where everyone eagerly offered us an asylum.

This permission afforded me the agreeable opportunity of observing, more in detail, the interior of an American family and their mode of living. I was delighted with the simplicity and frank cordiality of my hosts, and with the purity of their morals. Their politeness was the more pleasing, as it was entirely free from ceremoniousness; they were at the same time well informed, and devoid of all affectation; everything in them was natural; and their pleasures appeared to consist in the discharge of their duties. Wit, with them, was good sense, and reason dictated their language, and presided over their actions. In short, it really must be admitted, that truth and happiness, so far from being totally banished from the earth, as certain morose philosophers pretend, are everywhere to be met with in America.

Nothing, therefore, could detain us any longer, and we impatiently awaited the moment when the squadron of M. de Vaudreuil should be ready to receive us on board.

. . . M. de Rochambeau, desirous of proving to the last moment, by his private conduct, as he had done by the great services he had rendered, how anxious he was to secure the affection of the Americans, and be regretted by them, gave several balls and assemblies at Providence, which were attended by all the neighborhood within ten leagues of that city.

I do not recollect to have seen any where else an assemblage, in which a greater degree of mirth prevailed without confusion, in which there was a greater number of pretty women, and married people living happily together, a greater proportion of beauty free from coquetry, a more complete mixture of persons of all classes, whose conduct and manners presented an equal degree of decorum, which obliterated all appearance of unpleasant contrast or distinctions. This decorum, and the order and wise liberty which characterised the New Republic, whose happiness was so firmly established from its cradle, were the constant topics of my frequent conversations with the Chevalier de Chastellux."

Some of the troops were evidently sent down the Providence River to Pawtuxet Neck, now known as Fort Hill. The ramparts of this old fortress were still standing not many years ago, but were destroyed when William A. Spicer built his house. Mention of this location was made by de Closen, who stated:

"The last four companies of infantry under the command of M. d'Espeyron remained until the day after whereupon they received orders to be quartered in a village 4 miles from Providence called Patuxet: they are to embark on the 'Fantasque' (flower of the King) which is in the river and which is not yet entirely repaired, but they are working on her with all haste. The artillery has not left its first camp. It will leave a short time before the army to get to Boston early so as not to delay the embarkation of the troops. . . ."

The same officer, on another occasion, mentioned that:

"the General called the attention of M. Choisy to the fact that there was a battery of 10 pieces which he could occupy in case he was obliged to withdraw to Providence."

Blanchard went there a good deal and evidently relied on some woods near there for his fuel. He mentioned that there was a pond nearby that reminded him of one near Nantes.

Of the camp life during their stay in Providence and of the town itself, de Closen writes:

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

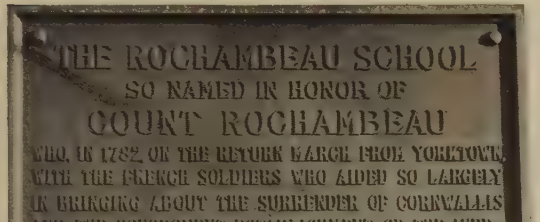
Kindness of the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin

ROCHAMBEAU SCHOOL, ON THE CORNER OF ROCHAMBEAU AVENUE AND HOPE STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

It is near one end of the French camp ground and of course received its name as a compliment to the French General who camped with his troops nearby. Rochambeau himself did not accompany the army to Boston, but returned to France via Chesapeake Bay, leaving the command to Baron de Vioménil.

"The 17th the artillery left for Boston; it will embark while waiting for the arrival of the Army. Although the troops have built for themselves good strong barracks and they are sheltered from the stormy weather, nevertheless as the season is advanced the soldiers suffer a good deal as all the rations, etc., are given out from the town; the service is endurable; as to regulations, it is no easy matter to exercise owing to the fact that it is difficult to obtain permits as several of the Royal Deux-ponts have deserted. I have already in my diary of last year described Providence so that it remains only to add that the troops are well received here, the people are kindly, honest and cheerful and whoever cares to know them can but sound their praises in every respect. There are many pretty women and the balls which take place are charming and very much liked; more or less enjoyable for those who speak the language. . . . The suburbs of Providence are thickly populated; the commerce not as active as it was before the war, but nevertheless flourishes. . . . The hour for our sailing draws nearer and nearer; everyone is preparing for his departure, some to return to France, others going to the Islands with the Squadron. On the 28th the order was issued for the Bourbonnais to leave December 1st and for the other regiments here to follow a day apart. M. de Rochambeau and M. de Chastellux, as well as M. de Béville are the generals who are returning to France; M. de Vioménil remains with the army. The entire administration, food, hospitals, etc., are sent back to France; two commissaries only and one head from each department are to be left with the Army.

We leave in North America the siege artillery, as well as the sick and the detachment of 400 men at Baltimore under the command of M. de la Valette, Lieutenant Colonel of St. Onge. He will be under the command of M. le duc de Lauzun who remains with the regiment until further orders and is Commander-in-chief of the French Army on this continent. M. de Rochambeau left today December 1st with M. de Vauban and M. de Lauberdière; the only two aides who return with him. They will go through Philadelphia and sail from Baltimore on the 'Romulus' for France."


THE ROCHAMBEAU SCHOOL
SO NAMED IN HONOR OF
COUNT ROCHAMBEAU
WHO, IN 1782, ON THE RETURN MARCH FROM YORKTOWN
WITH THE FRENCH SOLDIERS WHO AIDED SO LARGELY
IN BRINGING ABOUT THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS
AND THE CONSEQUENT ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDE-
PENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, CAMPED WITH HIS
ARMY ON THE FIELDS IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD.

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of the late Colonel George L. Shepley and Howard M. Chapin

TABLET ON THE ROCHAMBEAU SCHOOL

Corner of Rochambeau Avenue and Hope Street, Providence, Rhode Island.

Desandrouins says that at Waterman's Tavern he "spent the night at Joathan Knigt's (as he spelled it) apparently livable but poor . . ." and that "as two families lived under the same roof, I had little room and was very uncomfortable although the people were kind." At Providence this French officer found his host of the previous year, John Clarke, who invited him to din-

ner. His house had been engaged for a General, but Mr. Clarke refused to take in anyone but Desandrouins. He gave an entertainment while here which he describes. "I have given a large dinner at which my inn keeper and his wife honored me with their presence. They are most obliging and the best people in the world." It was a few days after this dinner that Rochambeau gave his great ball for the ladies of Providence and Newport.

There was much suffering from the cold weather during the three weeks or so in Providence and it was finally decided to march the troops to Boston and house them on shipboard until the vessels of the squadron had been repaired and were ready to put to sea. Therefore, at the end of November Rochambeau turned the command of his troops over to Baron de Vioménil and returned to Annapolis where he embarked on the "Emeraude" in company with Chastellux, de Choisy, de Béville, de Vauban, Montesquieu and his own son on January 8th for his native land.

Lieutenant Robertnier of the Soissonnais writes in his journal, recently purchased by the late Col. G. L. Shepley of Providence,

"We were frozen in our tents. . . . As the squadron of M. de Vaudreuil was not yet ready, we were obliged to put troops in the barracks."

Rochambeau's mother died three months before his return to France.

Camp was broken on December 1st, the last few days' stay in Providence being best described by de Closen:

"The Bourbonnais left today, the Soissonnais leave tomorrow, St. Onge the 3rd, and the Royal Deuxponts the 4th. They will camp the first day at Wrentham; the second at Dhedha (so called for Dedham), the third day they arrive at Boston to embark at once. Fortunately my good friend Alexandre Lameth who will remain attached to the corps of M. le duc de Lauzun . . . has bought all my horses, saddles, bridles, etc., at the price I paid for them, as they were in such good condition, which fills my purse with louis with which to return to France. The last days spent in Providence could not have been more depressing and gloomy to me. The departure of M. de Rochambeau and several of my friends caused me real sorrow in addition. . . ."

Photographed through the kindness of John R. Hess of the "Providence Journal"

Kindness of Granville S. Standish and Thomas W. Bicknell

OLD PIDGE, OR SAYLES, TAVERN, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

on the Pawtucket road, now North Main Street, and near the Providence-Pawtucket line. It was near the French camp and was frequented by officers of that army. The French troops probably marched past this tavern on their way to Wrentham, Dedham and Boston. This old building has recently been purchased by Granville S. Standish, who has renovated it.

The march from Rhode Island to Boston was a cold one and a great many precautions had to be taken to prevent desertions. Count Ségur wrote:

"The severity of the cold rendered our march painful. I was, moreover, obliged to keep, night and day, a strict watch. The prospect of happiness which liberty presented to the soldiers in this country, had created in many of them a desire of quitting their colors, and of remaining in America. In several corps, therefore, the desertion was considerable; thanks, however, to our watchfulness and good fortune, the regiment of Soissonnais lost but a few men."

The artillery was described by Blanchard as leaving first, on account of the "big quantity of things it has to embark" as Lieutenant Robertnier writes in his journal, not reaching Boston, however, until the 18th of the month.

"I had already gone over this road" [he writes], "which is a fine one; we pass thereon through different villages and frequently meet with houses on it: yet the land there is pretty middling; it is the cattle, whom they feed there partly with maize, and some iron works that make up the principal abundance of the country."

An anonymous diary owned by the late Col. G. L. Shepley of Providence, mentions that "the troops were lodged in empty houses, as well as the officers. . . . During our stay in Boston, we were busy to embark all artillery and ammunitions. That work was very hard, on account of the cold weather." The same writer declared that Boston was "one of the most beautiful cities not only of America, but of the whole world."

Boston prepared for the arrival of the French, for we find the legislature voted on November 7, 1782:

"That Col. Jabez Hatch be and hereby is appointed, in the quality of Barrack Master, to wait on the Quarter Master General of the French Army, on their first entering into this State, at Wrentham, to facilitate the quartering of the French troops under the command of his Excellency Count de Rochambeau.

And it is also Resolved, That the selectmen of the town of Boston be and hereby are impowered and directed to provide convenient quarters for the general officers and staff of the French Army aforesaid, expected soon to arrive in the said town, and that the said Selectmen's accounts and Colonel Hatch's accounts be laid before the General Court for allowance and payment, and that the United States be charged therewith, and that

On the petition of the Selectmen of the town of Boston, be, and they are hereby directed, to lay their accounts of expenses for providing quarters for the officers of the French army aforesaid, before the Governor and Council, who are hereby authorized and requested to examine and allow the same, if they shall appear reasonable. And his Excellency the Governor with advice of Council, is hereby also requested, to issue his warrant on the Treasurer for the payment of such accounts which may be allowed as aforesaid, provided nevertheless the sum shall not exceed five hundred pounds. On the petition of the Selectmen of the town of Boston, praying that means may be devised to enable them to provide quarters for General Officers and Staff of the French army, agreeable to the orders of the General Court, to be paid out of any money that may arise from the sale of prize goods, and paid into the Treasury of this Commonwealth, to be charged to the United States."

It was also resolved on the following day:

"Upon the request of Jabez Hatch, Esq.; Deputy Q. M. G. that this Court would call on the selectmen of the several towns in this Commonwealth (through which the army of His Most Christian Majesty may pass in their march to Boston) to give him, the said Hatch, every assistance in providing for the necessary comfort and convenience of said army, during said march:

Resolved, That the selectmen of the several towns in this Commonwealth, through which the army of His Most Christian Majesty may pass, in their march to Boston, be called upon to manifest that good disposition towards our allies by rendering every assistance to Col. Hatch, in providing for the convenience and comfort which the necessities of said army may require."

As we have seen, the first camp from Providence, the 53d from Yorktown, was at Wrentham, Massachusetts, where the tents were set up just off the present Main Street, or what was formerly called the Old Hartford Pike, running to the left of the present State road as one comes towards Boston. The camp ground probably bordered on the narrow rough lane that stretches from Main Street to a new little bungalow settlement on the shore of Lake Archer, once named for King Philip, who used to frequent this vicinity and who is supposed to have fought a battle near here with the Wampums. The map of this camp site was made by a Mr. Cobb who once lived in one of the houses adjoining the field where the camp was, and this family today still owns the ground where the army encamped on those bleak days in

Photographed by Levin C. Handy from a manuscript volume in the Rochambeau collection, entitled "Amérique Campagne 1782—Plans des différents camps occupés par L'Armée aux Ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau"

FIFTY-THIRD CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT WRENTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

where the first division arrived on December 1st, 1782. The camp ground lay between Lake Archer and Main Street just north of the present State road between Providence and Boston. Each of the four divisions remained here only one night before marching to Dedham.

Kindness of Herbert Putnam, J. L. Farnum and J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FIFTY-FOURTH CAMP OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS MARCH FROM YORKTOWN TO BOSTON, AT DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS (SPELLED BY THE FRENCH DEDAM) DECEMBER 2D, 3D, 4TH, AND 5TH, 1782

Each of the four divisions spent a night here, the artillery having reached the town on November 17th. The camp lay over the land, now occupied by many houses, extending between Court, School, Washington, Worthington and Richards Streets. The army proceeded at once to Boston, the men embarking on the ships, while the officers found lodgings on land and in many cases in the homes of the Bostonians. The Dedham Historical Society has always taken a special interest in the fact that almost the entire French army, including much of the artillery, encamped in the town, and to commemorate the event will place a boulder and tablet on Court Street near the corner of Marsh Street which will be dedicated June 1925. The boulder came from the writer's farm in Westwood. The society also has had a copy of the plan of this camp in its rooms for many years.

December. A visitor to this Massachusetts town in search of French connections would undoubtedly visit the Wrentham cemetery on East Street where lies buried a French nobleman, Ludovici Cornette, by name, who was once an officer in the French army, but not in the American campaign, and who married Prudence Plimpton of that town. He died in 1788 and is buried in a plot with a number of Wares, Brastows and Francours, all of whom are relatives. F. B. Brightman, who helped us to locate the Wrentham camp ground, believes that the family of this officer once lived in the house now owned by him, situated not far from the cemetery on the same street. At another time some members of this family lived on the same street in the oldest dwelling now standing and still referred to as the Cornette house. The family is supposed to have come to Massachusetts from southern France.

Only one night was spent by each division of the army in Wrentham, the next and last stopping-place being in Dedham, where the fifty-fourth camp was pitched on the tract of land near St. Paul's Church, extending in a southeasterly direction towards Wigwam Pond, and lying between Court, School, Washington, Worthington and Richards Streets. The Dedham Historical Society gives an account of this unique event in the town's history in its Register, Volume XII, issued in January 1901. This society also has a photograph of the original Rochambeau map, shown on page 176. Its chief treasure, and of especial interest to us, is the old diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, who makes the following entries, shown in the facsimile on page 178.

"November, 1782.
17 450 French & Artillery 1000 Horses here.
25 Received Ld of wood from Halsey from what the French burnt.
December.
2 French Army 1st division encamped here.
3 Do 2d—4Do 3d—5Do 4th.
26 French Army and Fleet sail from Boston 24th."

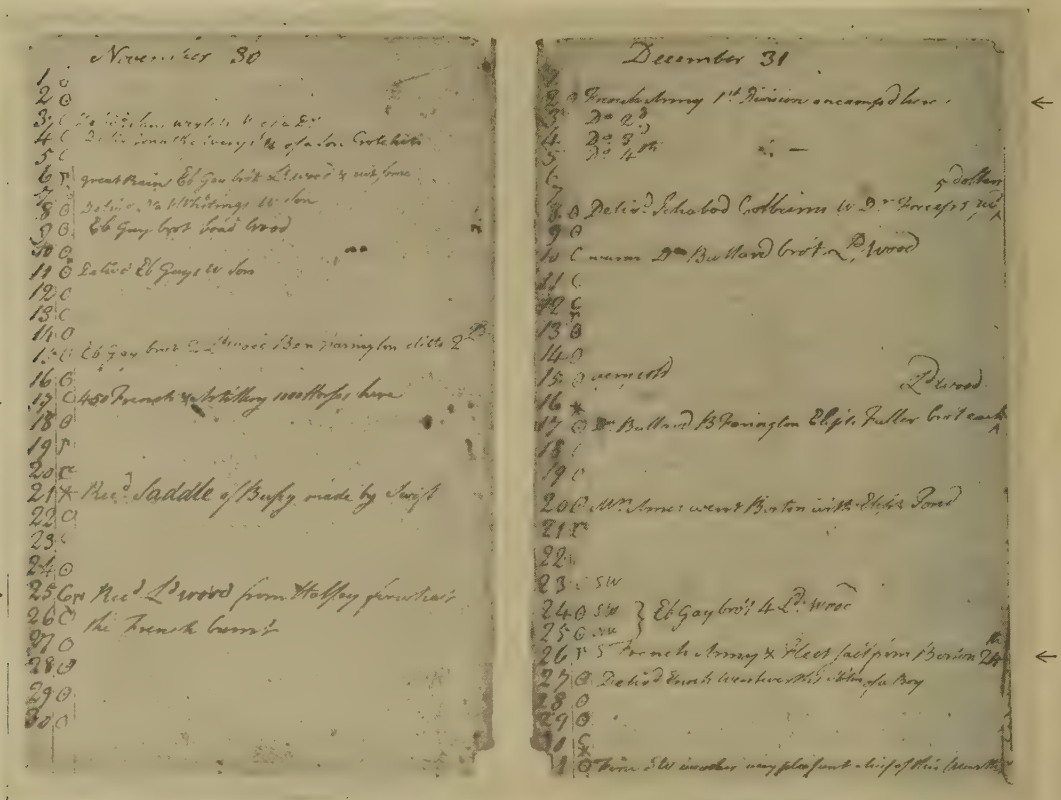
It does not take much imagination to realize the excitement among the Dedhamites when the first artillery arrived in the town, which was then of considerably greater size and importance compared to the surrounding villages than at the present time. Still greater must have been the interest when in the first days of December the four divisions of the army arrived, each a day apart. The Dedham Historical Society is soon to place a boulder on Court Street to mark the encampment there of our French allies. An illustration is on page 187.

Another relic in the rooms of the society is part of a French Zouave, or Chasseur, uniform, as it was sometimes called. One of our generals had purchased some in France for the Union forces in the Civil War and our War Department decided to present them to the three best-drilled American regiments in the Army of the Potomac, one of these being the 18th Massachusetts. One of the Dedham soldiers in Company F of the 18th regiment, Edward Francis Richards by name, once wore this uniform, which was given to the Society by a member of his family, Mrs. Arthur W. Thayer.

While the troops are resting in their hastily prepared camps, we will journey up High Street to Dedham Common and point out the old Richards-Lawrence house, near the common, now owned by Miss Frances M. Baker, a relative of George F. Baker of the First National Bank of New York; here once lived Giles Richards, whose granddaughter, Elise, a relative of the Lawrences of Boston, became the wife of the French Ambassador to America, Jean Jules Jusserand. Vernon Cormorais, a resident of the town, states that one of his ancestors came over at the same time that Lafayette did and that the family has lived here ever since. Before leaving Dedham we must mention an old tradition that Empress Josephine came from Martinique and spent a day with Dr. Barthody, a Frenchman, who resided on the north end of Dedham Common, on the property of Albert Hale.

Continuing the march of the French towards Boston, we learn of their entrance into Roxbury, from Francis S. Drake in his history of that town:

"Though it was (late) in December the skies were propitious, as these gallant Frenchmen, accompanied by a full band, marched through Roxbury, and over the Neck. At their head was the brave Viomênil, who ten years later sacrificed his life in defence of his king, in the attack on the Tuileries. With him came Berthier, afterwards Napoleon's adjutant-general, and one of his marshals; Matthieu Dumas, a distinguished soldier . . . Montesquieu, grandson of the author of 'L'Esprit des Lois;' Carra St. Cyr, Des Prez de Crassier, Alexandre de Lameth, Langrove, Anselme, and others who attained distinction in the wars of the French Revolution. The officers wore chapeaux with a white



Photographed from the original diary by Robert H. Pearman of the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston

Kindness of Julius H. Tuttle of the Dedham Historical Society

TWO PAGES FROM THE DIARY OF DR. NATHANIEL AMES, OF DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS,

in which is recorded the arrival in the town of the French artillery, on November 17th, 1782, and of the four divisions of the French army on December 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th. The first page mentions also the fact that the writer of the diary was obliged to purchase some wood to take the place of that burnt by the French troops. Under December 26th appears the record of the sailing of the fleet from Boston on the 24th. This is one of the few contemporary diaries we have seen which mentions the doings of the French army. It is one of the most prized relics in the Dedham Historical Society.

cockade, a uniform of white broadcloth faced with red, green, or blue, according to the corps to which they belonged, and high military boots. The general had on a blue over-dress, faced with red. All were splendidly mounted and wore elegant and costly equipments.

First marched the regiment Royal Deux-Ponts, dressed in white, led by Count Christian de Deux-Ponts. Next came the Soissonnais, under its second colonel, Count Ségur, son of the Minister of War. Its colonel, Felix de St. Maime, had preceded it to Boston. The brave Vicomte de Noailles had commanded the regiment at Yorktown. Saintonge, in white and green, follows, with Count Custine and Prince de Broglie, first and second in command, both victims of the guillotine. Custine in 1792 commanded the Army of the North. Last came the Bourbonnais, in black and red, under De Laval Montmorenci, and the infantry of Lauzun. The artillery, though not with the column, was attired in blue with red facings, white spatterdashes, and red pompons. The men wore short Roman swords, and carried their fire-locks by their slings. Among them might have been seen a young sergeant named Charles Pichegru, whose subsequent career is a matter of history . . . 'No review or parade,' says Ségur in his Memoirs, 'ever displayed troops in better order, offering an appearance at once more neat and brilliant. A great part of the population of the town came out to meet us. The ladies stood at their windows and welcomed us with evident applause, and our stay was marked by continual rejoicings, by feasts and balls, which succeeded each other day after day. . . .' "

Samuel Breck in his "Recollections" gives an amusing account of the arrival here of the first Frenchmen:

"When the first French squadron arrived in Boston, the whole town, most of whom had never seen a Frenchman, ran to the wharves to catch a peep at the gaunt, half-starved, *soup-maigre* crews. How much were my good townsmen astonished when they beheld plump, portly officers and strong, vigorous sailors."

It may be of interest to add here that, as many French ships came to Boston to collect supplies, the King appointed Samuel Breck's father as agent for his Government. To perform his duties it was necessary to ask Dr. Cooper to act as interpreter. The "Recollections" then describe how Mr. Breck and Governor Hancock decided it would be advisable to take lessons in the language, the results, as Breck's son describes, being laughably unsatisfactory. Also of particular interest to Bostonians is the fact that, according to some of the best authorities, the First Corps of Cadets copied its full dress uniform from that of the Soissonnais. This special privilege was accorded this Boston unit by reason of its being the oldest military organization in America, antedating by many years the Declaration of Independence. It seems fitting that Fate should have willed that this same Corps should be converted from a battalion of infantry to a regiment of Engineers at the outbreak of the World War, going to France among the first as the 101st Regiment of Engineers, 26th (Yankee) Division, where it served with distinction for eighteen months in conjunction with many of the descendants of the adventurous Frenchmen who came to the aid of our young country in its time of need. The first front to which they were sent after a few months' training was the famous Chemin des Dames and, curiously enough, they were detrained at Soissons.

The newspapers of the day make little mention of the march to our Capital, a precaution probably taken in order to conceal the movements and plans from the enemy. De Closen gives an excellent description of his journey from Providence to Boston:

"I had a severe cold in my head and lungs so that I had to stay in for some time and made it necessary for me to leave in a carriage. Four of us were travelling together and the first day we slept 27 miles from Providence at an Inn between Attleborough and Dedham where we were wonderfully cared for. The State of Massachusetts Bay commences six miles beyond Providence near *Sea Cunk*, [for Seekonk] a short distance beyond the fork of the Providence and Newport roads and two miles from the little falls of Pawtucket (at Boston). I went at once to obtain permission from M. de Vioménil to remain in lodgings on land on account of my health. This he granted with infinite kindness, even inviting me to have all my meals with him. I, therefore, was enabled to rent rooms at Colonel Ingersol's (where I had previously taken rooms) with M. de K., one of my friends, a naval officer. We remained together all this time I was on land, owing to the fact that we were old acquaintances. The 5th a brig arrived at Salem, having sailed from Martinique November 8th, having seen M. de Béville arrive there the 6th with a convoy of 'Gatinois' (Royal Auvergne) and other detachments for the soldiers destined to remain on the Islands. On the 6th General Washington wrote M. de Vioménil asking him to inform the entire army of his appreciation of the distinguished services each individual soldier had rendered the United States. . . ."

Count Ségur gives this account of their arrival in Boston:

"Before we entered Boston, our troops changed their dress in the open air, and appeared in a short time in such excellent attire, that it seemed incredible, that this army, coming from Yorktown, could have travelled over many hundred leagues of country, and been exposed to all the inclemency of a rainy autumn, and of a premature winter.

. . . A great part of the population of the town came out to meet us. The ladies stood at their windows and welcomed us with the liveliest applause. Our stay was marked by continued rejoicings, by feasts and balls, which succeeded each other, day by day. They displayed, with equal sincerity, the contending sentiments of joy at the triumphs of the allied armies, and of sorrow at our approaching departure."

Of their departure Count Dumas wrote:

"I quitted with regret this adopted country, to which I hoped to return after the campaign to fulfill a special mission, for which I have been named, the Count de la Luzerne, Minister of France, having designed me to be one of the commissioners to fix the boundaries after the conclusion of peace."

The best of the American reports is by Samuel A. Drake, parts of which we quote:

"One other grand martial pageant of the Revolutionary period remains to be chronicled. This was the entry of Rochambeau's forces into Boston in December 1782. . . . Notwithstanding it was midwinter, the troops, before entering the town on the 7th, changed their dress in the open air, and appeared in such splendid array as gave but little hint of their long, weary march from Yorktown. Their welcome was enthusiastic and heartfelt. At a town-meeting held Saturday, December 7, of which Samuel Adams was moderator, James Sullivan and Samuel Barret, with the selectmen, were appointed a committee to wait on General Vioménil with an address of welcome, to which the Baron returned a courteous reply. . . .

The day was favorable, and the sunbeams danced and glittered on the bayonets of these veterans of two continents as they proudly marched over the Neck and through the modest streets of Old Boston. At their head rode Vioménil, who achieved such renown at Yorktown, and afterwards lost his life heroically defending his king at the attack on the Tuileries. At his side rode the Chevalier Alexandre (probably error for Charles) de Lameth, severely wounded at Yorktown, and afterwards a soldier of Napoleon; the Marquis de Champcenetz; Count Mathieu Dumas; Alexandre Berthier, afterwards the adjutant-general and confidant of Napoleon, but deserting him in the hour of adversity. . . .

After these marched the regiment Royal Deux-Ponts, the largest in the army, in four battalions, with its colonel, Count Christian de Deux-Ponts, from whom the regiment took its name, at its head. . . . Count William, second colonel of the same regiment, who was wounded in the assault on the redoubt at Yorktown, where he won the order of Saint Louis, was on his way to France with the news of Cornwallis's surrender. The dress of this regiment was white. The men wore cocked hats, with pompons instead of cockades. . . .

The Bourbonnais in black and red, the infantry of Lauzun, all with arms and accoutrements in complete order, crowned with the laurels of victory and bearing the white standard and golden lilies in their serried ranks, closed the brilliant procession. . . .

The heavy artillery train remained with the American forces, to assist, if necessary, in the reduction of New York.

A great concourse of people came out to the Neck to welcome the gallant Frenchmen, and as the brilliant column moved along it was met with the liveliest demonstrations of joy and affection. Ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows, and the old streets echoed again with the plaudits of the people. Our readers will doubtless agree that, of the many pageants of which the Neck has been the theatre, none were so well worth witnessing as the one on the day when the superb host of our ally, Louis XVI, with closed ranks and firm tread passed into the town; or that other day when,

'In their ragged regimentals,
Stood the Old Continentals,'

with little of the pomp of war in their appearance, but with the light of victory in every countenance, as they marched in triumph through the abandoned works of the enemy, inaugurating by their valor and constancy the hope of a successful issue to the conflict just begun.

The stay of the French was taken up by a round of reviews, balls, dinners, and receptions. The officers found quarters and genuine hospitality among the inhabitants, and the men were well cared for. Both officers and men parted with keen regret from the friends they had found,—a regret sincerely shared by the inhabitants. At a fire which occurred in the town the French displayed such goodwill and gallantry in assisting to extinguish it that they were publicly thanked. On the 11th, Governor Hancock and the council gave one of their solemn feasts to the general and field officers, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and principal officers of the fleet. . . ."

Admiral de Vaudreuil, it will be remembered, had been in Boston for a month before the arrival of the land forces and describes the Association Ball given on November 14th, which was opened by this French officer and Mrs. Temple. On the following day, Mr. Cushing gave a reception and the day after a tea. At one entertainment Dumas and the Admiral's nephew, Parois, sang duets. Chastellux declared, "One can hardly believe how much the

presence of the squadron here has been conducive to the drawing together of the two nations. . . . The Marquis has captivated the hearts of a people. . . . The officers of our Navy have been received everywhere, not only as allies, but as Brothers. . . . They have been admitted into the greatest intimacy in the homes of the ladies of Boston. . . ."

The same officer, of the Count Bozon de Talleyrand-Périgord, writes:

"He was then very young, was aide-de-camp to M. de Chastellux, who now wished to take him back to France, as he had been confided to him by his parents, and he did not wish, by changing the young man's destination, to become responsible with them for the accidents and chances of the war. Bozon was, with reason, much grieved that his first step in the career of arms should thus be a mere momentary apparition at the army; he vainly entreated all our generals to take him with them, and, in his despair, he came to me. I pitied him but declined giving him any advice. 'It is not your advice that I come to ask,' said he, 'but secrecy and assistance. I have resolved not to return to France with M. de Chastellux, and, as no general will take me, either as officer or aide-de-camp, I turn soldier, and choose you for my chief: the only favor I ask of you is to give me a uniform, and to hide me in the ranks of your regiment.'

This resolution of a young warrior, eighteen years old, pleased me. M. de Saint-Maime, the colonel commanding the regiment, was gone to Boston, and the command had devolved upon me; I, therefore, dressed Bozon in one of my uniforms, to which I attached woolen epaulettes, gave him a grenadier's cap, and christened him Va-de-bon-coeur (go willingly).

At the moment, however, when M. de Rochambeau was going to leave us, I confidentially disclosed to him what I had done. He replied that as he could not, as general, approve of our conduct, he should say nothing, and should wink at an act which, as a soldier, he looked upon as noble and praise-worthy. Thus Bozon, or rather 'Va-de-bon-coeur,' volunteer grenadier, marched away with his haversac on his back, and his gun on his shoulder.

. . . At the first review our generals soon discovered Bozon, under the dress of 'Va-de-bon-coeur,' and pretended not to recognize him; soon, however, the warlike zeal of my young soldier became the general topic of conversation in the whole town; and Va-de-bon-coeur had the honor of being invited to all the solemn feasts, given by the magistrates and the authorities of Boston, to the generals and superior officers of the army. It was decided at last, that Bozon should not leave me, and should do the duties of my aide-de-camp during the whole of this campaign, until one of our general officers should have it in his power to receive him in the same capacity."

The *Massachusetts Spy* under date of December 12th thus referred to our allies:

"Last week arrived in town from the southward, in four divisions, the troops of our generous ally, the King of France. A finer corps of men never paraded the streets of Boston. . . ."

The only statement we have seen that mentions the fact that the soldiers were at once embarked on board ship, is made by Abbé Gabriel, the compiler of Desandrouins' Memoirs. He says: "At last, December 1st and 2nd the brigades of the French Army left Providence and reached Boston the 3rd and 4th, when they immediately embarked although they were not to sail till the 22nd." Desandrouins surely must have made this statement in his original memoirs, which we have not seen. While waiting on board ship Desandrouins complained of the severe cold wind and threatened snow, the troops suffering intensely as they were so thinly clad. Abbé Gabriel continues: "Colonel Desandrouins was most comfortably settled at Mr. Edward Tuckerman's who lives in a beautiful house in the suburbs of Boston and also owns still another house in Boston itself; he appears to be very rich, his trade was a baker's and he made his fortune from bread and biscuits." Desandrouins called on the French Consul de L'Etombe and the "famous Dr. Cooper," as he describes him, "who was so influential in furthering the success of the Revolutionary Cause and who is supposed to have been the foremost supporter of Hancock." The Frenchman was presented to Governor Hancock and to M. Baudouin, an important personage in the State, President of the College of Cambridge, who ran against Hancock for Governor. He was also one of the guests at the dinner

given by the French Consul to de Vaudreuil, de Viomenil, the other officers of the Army and Navy and to the State officers, General Heath, Adams, Cooper and other prominent citizens. He describes the official reception to the French General held "in the parlor of the house in which the Baron (Viomenil) was lodged," at which Adams delivered the oration.

Of the dinner given by the Governor and his Council, Desandrouins records these entertaining facts: "M. Hancock was at the head of the table, M. de Vaudreuil at his right and M. de Viomenil at his left. It was a great question among the members of the council as to which of the two Commanders should be placed on the right. It was decided that the question should be left to the two guests themselves; and the persuasion of the Baron compelled the Marquis to place himself in the seat of honor. The other officers had no places assigned to them. It was a very splendid dinner carried out in the American style and we drank more toasts than we Frenchmen ever heard of. Coffee was served after the repast, to conform to our custom; and we then drank some excellent wine from Bordeaux. Nevertheless many persons present complained of the toughness and the poorness of the meats. As for me, I found everything very delicious." On the 12th a large subscription ball was held, at which, according to Desandrouins, were present "a hundred married women and young ladies, many of whom were beautiful and all well dressed." On the 19th Viomenil, who with Viscount Mesme had visited Boston towards the end of 1780, gave an entertainment. Desandrouins embarked on the "Bourgogne," which ran aground during the voyage. He returned later to his native city of Verdun and was buried on December 11, 1792 in the Church of Ste.-Madeleine-la-Ville-l'Evêque in Paris. He has been termed the companion of Montcalm in Canada and the friend of Rochambeau in America.

The *Boston Gazette* spoke of the quick action of the troops during a fire in the town, already referred to by Drake:

"Thursday evening last a ship of about 300 tons burthen, landed off the end of the Long Wharf, by some accident or other, took fire, and was almost entirely consumed, together with her cargo of masts, spars, etc. But her remains, through the vigilance and activity of the officers and men of the French fleet (which are always most apparently striking upon all such occasions) were conducted to Dorchester point, which prevented her from communicating her flames to the men of war and other ships in this harbour."

During their three weeks' stay the officers and men enjoyed the hospitality of the citizens of Boston. They were also received officially. At a town meeting Samuel Adams, James Sullivan and Samuel Barrett, with the selectmen, were chosen a committee to visit on December 11th Baron Viomenil. Adams on this occasion delivered this address:

"*Sir*,

The Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, congratulate your Excellency on your fast arrival in the capital of this Commonwealth. It is with particular pleasure that we embrace this opportunity of testifying the singular respect with which we regard your Excellency and the gallant army under your command, sent by his Most Christian Majesty the illustrious Ally of the United States, to their succour, and crown'd in this service with the most brilliant success and permanent honours.

We assure your Excellency, that no part of the United States can be impressed more deeply with every sentiment becoming the most faithful Allies towards the King your Sovereign, and the nation which he governs with so much glory; or can entertain a higher sense of the great merits of his land and naval forces in America, than the inhabitants of Boston. Our whole country attests the perfect discipline, the uncommon order and civility which these forces have constantly preserved; a circumstance, among many others, which while it leaves the most agreeable impressions on the minds of the Inhabitants in every quarter, and must be extremely favorable to the public friendship, cannot but at the same time heighten our regret at a departure—Wherever these forces may still be

employed, may Heaven defend their persons, prosper their valour, and add new glories to their names and to that of their nation.

Your Excellency we are sure will be pleased, that upon this occasion we do not forget to mention with the utmost respect, the name of Count Rochambeau, your predecessor in this important command, whose distinguished services in America can never be forgotten, and to whom also we ardently wish every felicity.

May the happy Alliance with France never be dissolved or impaired! In the support of which such expenses have been incurred—Such toils endured—Such invaluable lives exposed—Such great actions displayed, and such generous blood offered! And may the reciprocal fruits of it to both nations remain perpetually augmented. . . ."

The French General replied:

"It belonged to the Count de Rochambeau much more than to myself to receive those distinguished and flattering testimonies, which you have been pleased to give to the conduct of the troops, placed by the choice and confidence of the King in his hands, in order to serve the cause of your liberty. It is by pursuing the intentions of his Majesty, and the orders, the particular instructions, and the example of the General which he gave us, that we have been able to inspire you with those sentiments of esteem and attachment, of which you now assure us in expressions that do us the greatest honour.

All the principal officers of this army are, as well as myself, Gentlemen, extremely touched with your suffrage in their favour; it in a manner ensures to them the approbation of the King, and is a very flattering recompense for the care they have taken to maintain discipline in the regiments which they command. The other officers by whom they have been perfectly seconded, will also be penetrated with the same sentiments; and the whole army see with satisfaction, how thoroughly you are persuaded, that it is to the perfect union that has reigned between the American troops, the marine of the King, and the French corps under the orders of Count de Rochambeau, that France and the United States are indebted for that success you so kindly applaud.

Permit me also, Gentlemen, to seize the present moment for declaring to you our admiration of the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments, which so particularly distinguish his Excellency General Washington. We all desire that the homage of our respects, and of our warm wishes for his preservation and happiness, may be agreeable to him as a testimony of the satisfaction we have had in serving under his orders.

I may venture to assure you beforehand, Gentlemen, that the King will very sensibly feel the good wishes which the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston have so ardently made for the glory of his reign and the prosperity of the nation which he governs. The disinterestedness and the wisdom of the views of his Majesty in all that he has done for the support of the Independence of America, do not admit a doubt that the next destination of this army will still contribute with efficiency to the complete establishment of that object: To whatever part of the earth his orders may send it, all who compose this corps, will ever remember with much sensibility, the pleasing wishes you have expressed for us on our departure.

The assurance of your affection, and the expression of your desires for the maintenance of an Alliance, which his Majesty regards as one of those happy events that have marked his reign, leave not the least room to doubt of the duration of this union, or of the great advantages that will result from it to the two nations in all times to come.

For myself, nothing, Gentlemen, could flatter me more than the particular marks you have been pleased to give me of your esteem. I beg you to accept, together with all the thanks I owe to you, my most sincere respects and my assurances, that I shall ever form the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the United States in general, and for the happiness of the citizens of Boston in particular."

On the evening of the same day the great dinner to the officers of the fleet already referred to by Drake took place.

The Boston Gazette, dated December 6, 1782, mentions the affair in these words:

"Wednesday a public dinner was given by his Excellency the Governor, and the Hon. Council, to the General and Field Officers of the French army, now in town, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and principal Officers of the fleet, etc. . . ."

Count Mathieu Dumas, one of Rochambeau's aides, continuing his account of his visit, mentioned especially the wise forecast of Dr. Miles Cooper, one of our leading patriots:

"Dr. Cooper one day spoke to us of the first declaration of independence. We listened to him with the most eager attention. When praising our enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, he said to us, 'Take care, take care, young men, lest the triumph of the cause on this virgin soil should too much inflame your hopes. You will carry away with you the germs of these generous sentiments; but if you ever attempt to propagate them on your native soil, after so many ages of corruption, you will have to surmount far different obstacles. It has cost us much blood to conquer liberty, but you will have to shed it in torrents before you can establish it in Europe.'

How many times since then, during our political storm—during our fatal days, have I called to mind the prophetic warnings of Dr. Cooper; but the inestimable prize which the Americans obtained by their sacrifice was always present to my mind."

Blanchard also has several paragraphs about Boston in his journal:

"The next day (19th) I dined at the house of the consul, M. de l'Etombe. In the evening I was presented there to M. de Vaudreuil, and I worked during a part of the day with his son, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who served him as major.

On the 21st, there was a dinner at which I was present, given by Mr. Breck, a wealthy American, to M. de Vaudreuil and to several navy officers.

. . . Our troops arrived at Boston successively on the 3d, 4th and 5th of December; and they encamped in the order that they arrived. The weather was very fine, so that Dr. Cooper, the pompous protestant clergyman whom I have mentioned before, said 'Heaven smiles upon the troops of France.' . . .

On the 12th, the members of the assembly of Boston (Massachusetts must be meant) came to congratulate the Baron de Vioménil, who received them in the midst of a large number of officers, of whom I was one. The spokesman, Mr. Samuel Adams, a respectable old man, spoke very spiritedly. His discourse and M. de Vioménil's reply were inserted in the public papers. On the same day the assembly gave a great dinner to M. de Vioménil, and the principal officers of the army. It was Mr. Hancock, at that time the governor of the state, who presided at it.

On the 13th, in company with M. de Vioménil, I again went to see the Commander Coriolis d'Espinousse. We were in a boat; but the wind became so violent and contrary that we returned upon some bad horses which they had the kindness to procure for us.

We thought of starting on about the 20th; but we were still at Boston on the 22d, in consequence of some delays. The 22nd was a Sunday; I mention it because, having walked through the city, I saw no one there. The inhabitants were in the temples or retired in their own houses; they do not allow the least recreation and do not visit. Moreover, this is the same almost everywhere in America. . . .

Boston is reckoned to contain 25,000 inhabitants. Its size is about that of Angers. The houses are mostly of brick, the streets are pretty wide and well laid out, especially the main street. There are also some unsightly quarters which give Boston an appearance less modern than Philadelphia and the other cities of America.

I have already mentioned that several families of the name of Blanchard are found there. One, very rich, of French origin, went from Rochelle to America after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Many families belonging to Rochelle did the same; for there is a village in New York entirely built by the Rochellois. It is called New Rochelle. Our army was pretty near to it in 1781 and several of our officers went to it. . . ."

Ségur of his stay in Boston says:

"In this town I became acquainted with Samuel Adams, and with Hancock, the first and immortal founders of the American republic; I also formed with Doctor Cooper, celebrated for his profound writings, an intimacy which we kept up for a long time. . . .

Boston affords a proof that democracy and luxury are not incompatible, for in no part of the United States, is so much comfort, or a more agreeable society to be found.

Boston, which, owing to its commercial relations, has long been a flourishing state, appears like the ancestor of the other American cities, and at the period of my residence there, bore a perfect resemblance to a large and ancient English town.

Europe does not offer to our admiration women adorned with greater beauty, elegance, education, or more brilliant accomplishments than the ladies of Boston, such as Mesdames Jervis, Smith, Tudor, and Morton. Mrs. Tudor, who was afterwards seen in France, has become known by her writings full of wit, one of which was addressed to the Queen of France, and was brought over by M. de Chastellux, and presented to that Princess.

Photographed by Peter A. Juley & Son *Kindness of de Lancey Kountze*

MODEL OF A FRENCH MAN-OF-WAR OF THE PERIOD OF 1780

I lodged at the extremity of the town, in a pretty dwelling house belonging to Captain Philips. This officer, who had been greatly ill-used by the English, probably thought that one way of being revenged of them was to give a hearty welcome to a Frenchman. I was therefore received as a member of the family, and shall never forget his obliging hospitality. . . ."

In Boston Harbour lay the French fleet now ready for sea, consisting of Le Triomphant, La Couronne, Le Duc de Bourgogne, l'Hercule, Le Souverain, Le Neptune, La Bourgogne, Le Northumberland, Le Brave, Le Citoyen and the two frigates l'Amazone and La Néréide. Of the departure on December 24th of the four thousand troops there are several good accounts; Blanchard refers to their sailing in these words:

"On the 23d of December 1782 I went on board of the Triomphant, with M. de Vioménil, and on the 24th the whole squadron, carrying the army, set sail and left the harbor of Boston; the channel is narrow and has little depth; so that we were not without uneasiness. Our pilot himself did not appear to be quite composed and incessantly repeated "too big." However we fortunately got through; one only of the transport ships, the Warwick, was shattered upon the rocks on setting sail; happily, there were no troops on board. We were to cruise as high up as Portsmouth, a pretty good port beyond Boston, where two ships of war were which were to rejoin us and then to cruise alongside of Rhode Island in order to meet with the Fantasque, a vessel armed with deck guns only. The bad weather changed these designs; we could not, without danger, remain upon these coasts exposed to being cast away upon them or driven upon sand banks.

On the 27th, the frigate Iris left us, to proceed to France. On the same day we lost sight of our convoy and our frigate. Moreover, every vessel carried a sealed package pointing out the general destination of the squadron.

. . . The weather was so bad in the first days that it was impossible for me to write, the rather as I had not a room and slept with thirty officers in the main cabin. I ate also at M. de Vaudreuil's table where we had ten or twelve. The rolling was so great during the first days that we were obliged to eat upon the floor."

The fleet viewed with much sorrow the wreck of the "Magnifique," which ran aground on Lovell's Island about five months before.

De Closen speaks of his last few days in the town and of his final leave-taking as follows:

"The address of the people of Boston to M. de Viomènil and his staff and his reply are also very well written and tell of how much value the service of our Army has been to America. All our army sailed on December 7th. Three companies and a half of the Royal Deux-Ponts on board the 'Brave' under the command of the Comte d'Amblimont. M. de Deux-ponts and M. de Fersen are also on board and I am delighted to be with them again. M. Fersen as aide to M. de Rochambeau has been with me for three years. Five companies of the Regiment are on board the 'Isle de France' where we are afraid they will be terribly crowded. The 8th an American ship caught fire in the harbor but they took great care that no further disaster should occur. The same night a transport which was to take on board a company of Bourbonnais struck the dock, but the important things belonging to her were saved. Many balls and fêtes were given during the stay of the Army in Boston. The fair sex here is most charming; absolutely well bred and very amusing.

We were received everywhere with the greatest hospitality and the Bostonians are undoubtedly one of the two most loyal friends to France. As I said in my article on Connecticut I had time to look over the different positions, work and batteries built at the time of the blockade of the Boston Harbor by the English Army offensively, defensively, to which I have already referred in my article on Boston. N.B. I have just added a map on my work on Boston and its environs which I am taking with me. No. 3 of the Collection.

It was the 20th when the order was finally given to the officers quartered on land to embark the following day. M. de Vaudreuil set the example and received twenty-one salutes from the forts at Castle Island. In obedience to the order received from M. Deux-Ponts, Fersen and I embarked the 21st at three o'clock but the weather suddenly becoming so threatening and stormy that after having grounded twice on Dorchester Point, he had to tack and steer for the headlands of the City from which we had set sail, reaching there at six P.M. grateful to have escaped the severe storm. Although we each had said goodbye to our friends, we nevertheless were quite ready to pass another evening in their midst if only to take another cup of excellent tea with them, well served and poured out by hands as white as the driven snow. It is the custom in America when there are a number of ladies assembled that two should be selected to serve the tea; it is no small task as some persons take no less than six or eight cups! ! One had to be polite and with grace accept an invitation to supper at which the punch and Madeira were excellent but there was nothing to prevent our setting sail the following morning on the 'Baer,' the weather being fine and the sea smooth. Adieu for ever! I fear that we may have too many leisure hours in which to reflect our departure from America. Many of the Army are of the opinion that M. de Rochambeau had made a mistake in urging our departure so soon without more positive orders. It was useless to argue with these gentlemen who preferred from personal feelings to remain in America, . . . I could not convince them that M. de Rochambeau would never have assumed the personal responsibility of ordering the French Army to leave this continent to go to the Islands without special orders from the Court of France."

Another writer thus refers to their leaving:

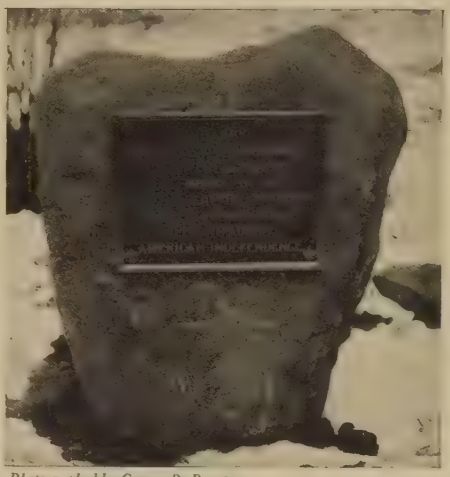
"A rare pageant was the going away of the ten victorious vessels of our French allies, led by Le Triomphant. Regiment after regiment, plumed Soissonnais Grenadiers resplendent in red, white, and pink, led by Comte Ségur, afterwards a peer of France; the Bourbonnais in black and red; the Count de Deux-Ponts, with his four battalions; the Saintonge regiment led by the Prince de Broglie, and many more, all under the waving fleur-de-lys, boarded their ships in Nantasket Roads. Gay and gallant noblemen and officers, in two-cornered cocked hats with the white cockade, waved farewell from the quarter-deck. Viomènil, afterwards slain defending the Tuileries; the Chevalier Alexandre de Lameth; Count Mathieu Dumas; and Alexandre Berthier, afterwards Marshal under Napoleon. . . ."

Ségur refers to his departure as follows:

"I embarked on board 'Le Souverain'. . . . The faithful Bozon had his hammock near me; and a fortunate chance brought on board the same ship, two of my intimate friends, Alexandre de Lameth, and Mr. Linch, an officer on the staff. We set sail on the 24th of December; and I did not quit North America without expressing the most painful feelings.

I cannot better describe the impression I felt, than by quoting the expressions of a letter I wrote at the moment of leaving that happy land; 'This is the day,' I said, 'on which I set sail; I am quitting with infinite regret a country where, without obstacle or difficulty, we are what everywhere else we ought to be, sincere and free. Here all private interests merge into the general welfare; every one lives for himself, dresses as he pleases, and not as it pleases fashion. People here think, say, and do what they like . . . live as traveller, politician, literary character, or as merchant, without being either disturbed in his occupations, or molested in his idleness. . . . Young girls here are innocently coquettish in search of husbands, whilst married women act with propriety, in order to preserve theirs. . . .

. . . The season was beginning to be so severe, that the thermometer marked 26°. The navigation along the coast of North America, at this time of the year, is exceedingly dangerous; and, to avoid accidents, we ought, as we had started with a favorable wind, to have availed ourselves of it, to hasten out of the gulph and get out to sea.



Photographed by George B. Brayton

MARKER TO BE PLACED ON THE FRENCH CAMP GROUND IN DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

indicating the encampment of the French troops on their way to Boston. The boulder came from the farm of the writer of this book, in Westwood, Massachusetts. The inscription reads "Nearby was the 54th encampment of the French Army, December 2-5, 1782, on its march from Yorktown where its generous aid helped to achieve American Independence."

Unfortunately however our admiral, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, cruised for some time in sight of the harbour, because he expected his brother, who was to come out of Portsmouth to join us with his ship, l'Auguste of eighty guns, and le Pluton of seventy-four guns.

This delay nearly proved fatal to us; the wind became contrary, and soon began to blow with such violence, that some of our sails were rent asunder. After having furled those that remained, which is called by sailors to bring to, we felt ourselves rapidly carried, in the midst of a dark night, towards a shore thick set with rocks, against which we were, to all appearance, destined to strike, without any chance of escape. . . . The danger was increasing every moment, and was the more imminent for us, as le Souverain was old. . . . Our crew, struck with dismay, remained motionless.

Our captain, almost the only individual who preserved his presence of mind, displayed a calm and pious resignation. I asked him if he saw no hope. 'None,' said he, 'for during the many years I have been at sea, I never have found myself in a more critical position; we are almost surrounded by rocks, and the sea is too unmanageable for any boat or canoe to be able to resist its violence.'

'But,' quietly replied Bozon, 'nothing is more variable than the wind, and that which now assails us, may change suddenly.' 'That hope is chimerical,' said the captain; 'this violent wind blows from the southeast, and we are so far engaged in the gulph, that it would be necessary in order to extricate us, that the wind by a sudden change, should run half round the compass, and jump to the north-west, a thing unexampled. I am surprised we have not yet struck upon some rock; but, at the first shock you will feel, it will be all over with us.'

These words pronounced by a man so courageous, so calm, and so well experienced, bereft us of all hope; and terror, the gloomy forerunner of death, now pervaded every breast.

I admired on this occasion, the calm and lofty courage of Lameth, who seemed to brave his fate, and coolly conversed with me upon the immortality of the soul; Bozon, a Frenchman to the last, manifested an unalterable gaiety, and seemed resolved to bid the world farewell with a laugh. We were prepared for the worst, and expected the shock that was to destroy us.

Suddenly we felt a dreadful concussion; our ship inclined to starboard in such a way as to make us suppose that it was going to upset. We bade each other farewell, but, at that moment, the lieutenant of the watch swiftly entered the room, exclaiming, 'Captain, a miracle, the wind has just veered

to the north-west.' 'Not a moment is to be lost,' answered M. de Glandevez, crossing himself; 'we must put up all our canvas, and get out to sea immediately, for this extraordinary change of the wind cannot last long.'

He was quickly obeyed. Soon afterwards, the whole squadron got out of the gulph with all sails set, and reached the open sea. Two hours had scarcely elapsed, before the gale from the south-east again began to blow with the same fury as before, but we were then out of danger. This gale compelled us again to bring to, and lasted three days, after which the weather grew more favorable, and M. de Vaudreuil, not thinking it advisable to wait any longer for his brother, we directed our course to the southward."

These two notices appeared in Boston papers relative to the French just before sailing:

"The Gentlemen Selectmen take this Method to call on the Inhabitants of the town who have furnished rooms for the Gentlemen Officers of the French Army, since their arrival in town, to bring in their accounts to Edw. Green, Esq., on or before the 20th instant, in order to their being attested by him, to be laid before his Excellency the Governor and Council for allowance and payment."

"TAKE NOTICE!

All persons whatever, that have any accounts open, or demands subsisting, against his Most Christian Majesty's fleet, commanded by his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by contracts or purchases made by any person or persons invested with proper authority therefor, are hereby called upon and desired to bring in and exhibit their accounts or demands to the office of M. le Chevalier de Leguille, Major General of said fleet, at Peck's Wharf, for adjustment and payment on or before Tuesday, 17th instant, as no accounts can be received or paid after that time.

Boston, Dec. 11, 1782."

Of the condition of the army when it left this country, Claude Blanchard, already quoted, makes this interesting statement:

"When the army departed, at the close of 1782, after a sojourn of two years and a half in America, we had not ten sick out of five thousand men. This number, which is less than the number of soldiers that are usually in the hospitals in France, shows how healthy the climate of the United States is."

The Baron de Vioménil, just before sailing, addressed from Boston a letter of farewell to Washington and before leaving was glad to receive a reply of thanks. Congress also saw fit on the first of January of the following year to receive this report from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

"The minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty having communicated to Congress through the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the 7th instant, the resolution taken to embark the army under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, and on the 29th their having actually embarked and sailed, together with his majesty's intentions to direct them to return whenever an object should offer in which they might effectually co-operate with the troops of the United States."

The Senate promptly passed the vote that:

"The President make the acknowledgments of Congress in a particular manner, to his excellency, the Count de Rochambeau; and signify to him the high sense they entertain of the distinguished talents displayed by him with so much advantage to these states in the most important conjunctures, as well as of the strict and exemplary discipline which has been uniformly conspicuous in the troops under his command and which has deservedly acquired the admiration and esteem of the citizens of these States, by whom his signal services and delicate attention at all times paid to their (American citizens) private rights will ever be held in affectionate remembrance."

On July 10, 1783 the following vote in regard to the expenses incurred in caring for the officers was passed:

"That there be allowed and paid out of the Treasury of this Commonwealth, to John Scollay, Esq; and others, Selectmen of the town of Boston, Four Hundred and nine pounds, three shillings

and six pence, being the balance of their account for quarters furnished certain officers and soldiers of the French Army, under the command of his Excellency the Baron de Viomésnil, by sundry inhabitants of the said town; the said sum to be by them paid to the persons to whom it is due, and that the same be charged to the United States."

It is not a part of this chapter to trace the arrival of the French on their native soil, but there has come down to us through de Closen's diary such an amusing account of his return to Paris that we venture to quote it verbatim:

"I signed my six months' furlough much more joyously than if I had won sixty Louis. . . . The regiment left, the 21st . . . and I, after having bought a fine carriage in which I placed in front, behind and above, my domestics . . . 3 monkeys, 4 parrots and 6 paroquets; we set out with this display, noisy and difficult to keep clean and in order, like a merchant arriving from Smyrna. . . . The next day I slept at St. Pol de Léon (our last stopping place before sailing for America.) I saw again with great joy the respectable family of Kersabiec which had taken such good care of me during my convalescence from a serious illness. I left them a parrot for a souvenir of friendship and gratitude, and left the next evening for Guingamp, another charming village in Brittany, full of nobility and where so many countesses and Baronesses had heaped kindnesses upon me during a sojourn of six weeks. . . . Finally, on the 30th I arrived happily at Paris, with all my animals alive, and of all colors, myself looking like an Indian, as my face was so sunburned. . . . I put up at an inn, but the Rochambeaus insisted that I should go and stay with them on the following day. . . ."

Photographed by George B. Brayton from "Our French Allies" by Edwin Martin Stone

ONE OF THE HEADQUARTERS TENTS
OF THE FRENCH ARMY
showing the French Flag of that period.

End Volume I